University of Alberta

Self-Employment and Family Life: Adaptive Work-Family Balance Strategies

by

Deana Hall-Hoffarth

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

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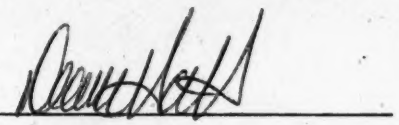

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ABSTRACT

This research project examined how twenty-four self-employed women attempt to meet the competing obligations of their work and family lives. Two significant elements within the existing work/family balance literature motivated this project: a focus on employees that often excludes the experiences of self-employed workers, and a tendency to focus on the emotional, often negative responses of individuals to seemingly irreconcilable work and family demands. The project utilized a theoretical framework composed of Giddens' structuration theory, the life course perspective, and models of work-family border maintenance, which made it possible to view work-family balance as a proactive process incorporating individual agency within a structurally constrained social context. The goal in adopting this theoretical framework was to provide an alternative to role theory, which currently dominates the work-family balance literature. The theoretical framework identified work-family balance as a dynamic process that individuals create and modify in response to changing work, family, and personal preferences over the life course. Utilizing a qualitative methodology, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews, the study identified a modified grounded-theoretical model of strategies for work-family balance. The strategies involve a combination of preference to either integrate or separate work and family domains, motivated by the needs of children, work, or personal preferences. Four strategies emerged from the data: Child-Based Integration, Child-Based Segmentation, Work-Based Segmentation, and Personal Preference Segmentation. Theoretical analysis of these strategies substantiated clear differences between them, suggesting a number of opportunities to explore this model of Adaptive WFB strategies in future research.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This dissertation documents and analyzes how twenty-four self-employed mothers combine their work and family lives. These women are immersed within work and family trends affecting significant and growing numbers of Canadians, most notably the difficulty of balancing work and family demands and the increase in female self-employment. Because growing numbers of women entered self-employment over the 1990s while families simultaneously strained under increasing pressures to meet competing work and family demands, a number of researchers identified self-employment as a potential answer to the 'work-family problem'. Underlying this assumption is the argument that the flexibility and control of self-employment should allow women to meet otherwise irreconcilable demands. In this dissertation, I problematize this optimistic assumption, to examine how, or indeed if, self-employed mothers are able to use their work arrangement to facilitate work-family balance.

Using retrospective life history data, this study views self-employed mothers with a broad temporal lens, examining how work/family combination evolves over the life course, in response to changing needs in both work and family domains. A theoretical framework comprised of Giddens' structuration theory, the life course perspective, and models of work-family border maintenance provide the analytical tools to explore work-family balance (WFB) among the women participating in the study.

This study falls within the work-family literature and addresses two fundamental limitations of that literature: a focus on employed workers that has neglected crucial insights from the experiences of self-employed workers, and a concentration on the negative repercussions of work/family combination (such as stress, time-stress, and conflict), rather than on whether or how individuals attempt to actively obtain a balance between their work and family demands.

The majority of WFB research examines the particular circumstances of employees in organizations, leaving WFB among self-employed workers relatively unexplored. This gap is puzzling because self-employment offers individuals access to two elements of the work environment that researchers have identified as being crucial to WFB: flexibility and control over work. Flexibility and control play central roles in both WFB and self-employment. In isolation, these shared features should make self-employment an ideal work arrangement for individuals seeking to balance their work and family demands, and the literature review will document that many researchers rest on this assumption by stating that women often enter self-employment for

family reasons. Although intuitively compelling, this assumption does not adequately account for the excessive time and energy demands of operating a business enterprise. Self-employed individuals generally work longer hours and experience higher levels of stress than employees, and both of these characteristics are negatively associated with work and family balance. Thus while the work arrangement sounds promising, it also contains crucial road-blocks to WFB. This study explores how individuals develop strategies to balance work and family demands within work and family configurations and a social context that can simultaneously act to facilitate and hinder their efforts.

When researchers have examined work and family issues among self-employed workers, they have often utilized large-scale survey research, leaving open the opportunity to explore this issue more intensely through in-depth, qualitative, interview-based research. While survey research is exceptionally effective at identifying macro-level trends and characteristics, it is somewhat less effective at exploring subjective, contextualized experiences, and in identifying subtle changes in dynamic social practices. It is also more effective at testing hypotheses than in developing emerging theoretical constructs. Because I sought to uncover subjective understandings of WFB, and to discover rather than verify how self-employed women balance their work and family demands, this study required a more subtle and contextually-sensitive research method. In order to obtain this type of detailed and focused data, I used both questionnaires and open-ended interviews to explore research questions with study participants. The questionnaires provided access to crucial information regarding personal, family, and business characteristics and facilitated comparison between respondents without using up valuable interview time. The interviews probed for detailed accounts of life course progression through work and family domains and insight into personal accounts about and interpretations of WFB in practice. The goal in choosing this approach was to allow the women in this study to express their experiences of self-employment and WFB in their own terms. The combination of interviews and questionnaires provided access to both comparative and individually unique data. This approach facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the variety in WFB strategies among women sharing the same general work arrangement (self-employment) and basic family structure (married with children), an issue undeveloped in both the work-family and self-employment literatures.

While a number of researchers have examined WFB, the bulk of this research examines 'balance' in its absence – by focusing on the conflict that arises when individuals are unable to

effectively meet competing work and family obligations. Using this approach, researchers have generated a substantial body of literature regarding how individuals cope with or react to the 'problem' of combining work and family demands. By focusing on the negative reactions to ineffective work/family combination, researchers have neglected to fully explore and develop adequate conceptual understandings WFB as a distinct concept. This study builds on current understandings of WFB by exploring study participants' subjective definitions of the concept.

The analysis of personal definitions of WFB will reveal that self-employed women consider time, control, and flexibility to be crucial elements of the concept. The women in this study indicated that having adequate amounts of time to spend in both work and family domains, and being able to control their time, particularly in terms of establishing flexible work schedules were both essential to balancing work and family demands. In addition, these women identified that WFB is an active and dynamic process. As their work and family demands changed over their life courses, these women made numerous adjustments to how they managed to meet competing demands. Rather than exploring the absence of balance, and how individuals react to inadequate balance, this study identifies that individuals actively develop strategies to meet the competing demands of work and family. In summary, this research project focuses on a common issue – work/family balance, by focusing on an unexplored approach to understanding WFB – proactive balancing strategies; within a relatively unexplored group – self-employed women. In combination the in-depth qualitative approach; emphasis on proactive, dynamic balance strategies; and focus on a relatively unexplored group of workers provide a foundation from which to make a significant contribution to the work-family and self-employment literatures.

In approaching this research project, I hoped to answer three fundamental questions:

What does work and family balance mean to self-employed women? How do they achieve it? What impact does being self-employed have on work-family balance?

As I returned to the academic literature throughout the research and analysis phases of this project, I made some adjustments to these questions, and I discuss these refinements throughout the dissertation. Despite the refinements, however, these three questions remained the primary drivers of the research project.

In addition to limiting their focus to employees and the negative reactions to work/family imbalance, work/family researchers have also applied a relatively limited theoretical focus. The general approach to understanding how individuals manage elements of their work and family

lives, has been to study how individuals combine the demands of their work and family roles. This approach reflects a relatively passive view of role occupants, who react, in terms of negative emotional responses, to incompatible role demands. Researchers generally focus on the level and type of conflict that individuals experience when they cannot meet competing role demands. This focus essentially precludes exploration of why elements of the social context (such as marital status, the presence of children, the availability of adequate childcare, or the structure of work arrangements) can enhance or constrain the ability to meet role demands. Moreover, it precludes examining agency on the part of role occupants in terms of acting to create more compatible role combinations.

The idea that social actors must fulfill the obligations of social roles represents one of the basic premises of role theory – and this theoretical framework has dominated the WFB literature for the past twenty-five years. The role theory approach to WFB argues that we must balance our time and resources in order to complete all the tasks that our various social roles require of us. Because our resources are finite, we must spend resources meeting the demands of one role at the expense of unmet demands in other roles. Within this approach, identifying the types of roles that we fill, as well as the characteristics and demands of those roles is an essential component of understanding the balance between work and family.

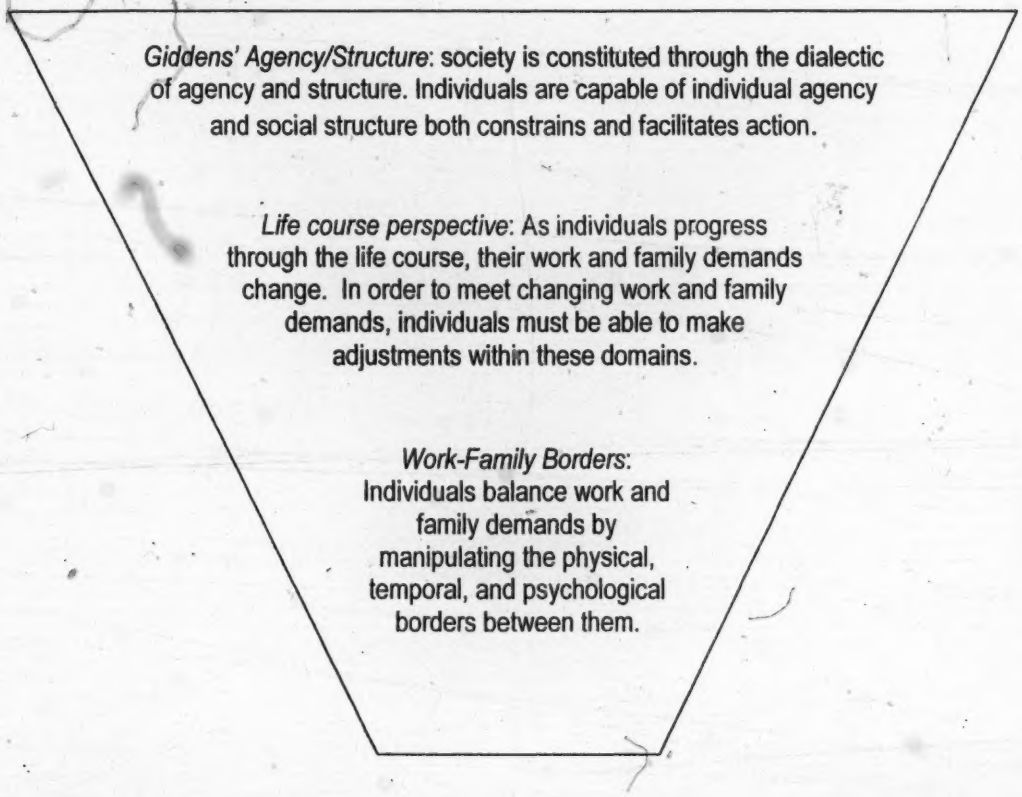
The role theory framework represents a functionalist view of how individuals manage their work and family lives. It argues that social roles exist, and that as social actors we live within the boundaries prescribed by those roles, with structure and action mutually reinforcing one another. In this self-enforcing loop of social structures and appropriate behaviours, there is limited room for innovation, as any action outside the purview of existing role behaviour is deviant and will necessarily be sanctioned by other social actors. Without innovation, however, the overwhelming changes that have characterized the North American labour force and family forms over the last quarter century would not have been possible.

A theory of how individuals combine their work and family tasks must be able to account for adaptations both in work and family forms over time, and in how we meet changing demands within these dynamic social structures. In order to account for adaptation in social structures, researchers must consider theoretical frameworks that can recognize, predict, and explain social change. In order to achieve this goal within the current study, I incorporated a theoretical framework that recognized that work and family structures do change over time, and that changes

in these social structures impact on WFB at the individual level. The framework also acknowledged the interplay between individual agency and structural constraints. This was a crucial component of the framework because it facilitated understanding how individuals both use their own control within work and family domains (individual agency), and react to external control from the environment (social structure) while pursuing WFB. The goal in adopting the combined theoretical perspective was to highlight the active adaptations that individuals attempt to make to social institutions and roles, rather than document how they react when they are unable to manage competing socially-constructed demands. This focus on individual agency within work and family domains distinguishes this study from those based in role theory, which emphasize reaction to socially prescribed norms for appropriate behaviour. While both approaches recognize that work and family are social constructs, the role theory approach would argue that they come with immutable socially defined roles that we must fill to maintain a functional social existence, including 'mother' and 'worker'. In contrast, the theoretical framework that I adopt in this study argues that social actors move through socially constructed time and space, with the ability to create individually unique pathways through them.

Elements of structuration theory, the life course perspective and the work-family border models form the fundamental theoretical statement driving this research project: *Individuals in society are capable of individual agency, within a range of structurally mediated choices. As they progress through the life course, they can and do adapt to changing demands in their work and family trajectories. In order to balance their work and family demands, they place and maintain physical, temporal, and psychological borders between their work and family domains.* These conceptual ideas provide the analytical tools that I use to explore and explain how self-employed women balance their work and family demands. This dissertation does not specifically test any elements of the theoretical framework, but instead uses them as guides in interpreting the interview data. Figure 1 summarizes this theoretical framework, which I briefly introduce here and fully explicate in Chapter five.

Figure 1: Theoretical framework


Giddens' Agency/Structure: society is constituted through the dialectic of agency and structure. Individuals are capable of individual agency and social structure both constrains and facilitates action.
Life course perspective: As individuals progress through the life course, their work and family demands change. In order to meet changing work and family demands, individuals must be able to make adjustments within these domains.
Work-Family Borders: Individuals balance work and family demands by manipulating the physical, temporal, and psychological borders between them.

The triangular shape of this framework highlights the decreasing scope of the theoretical perspectives. Giddens' agency and structure concepts operate at the societal level, and although they function within work and family domains, they are also present in other social realms. This theory applies to a broader scope of social life than the life course and work-family border perspectives. The life course perspective shares Giddens' view that individuals are both constrained and enabled by social structures. It offers crucial insights regarding the interdependence of individual life trajectories, as well as the impact of linked lives and social context on how individuals progress through the life course. While sharing the recognition of agency and structure with Giddens' model, this perspective is narrower, and more precise in its application. The work-family border models recognize both agency and structure and changing demands of work and family over time, and focus very specifically on the techniques that individuals use to balance work and family demands by manipulating their shared physical,

temporal, and psychological borders. In combination these perspectives make it possible to explore, in increasing detail, how individuals manage to meet competing demands in their work and family domains.

In summary, because this study looks at a familiar issue from an alternative perspective, it will provide findings and insights to the existing literature that are both relevant and innovative. In particular, the study will highlight that women are proactive in developing strategies to balance their work and family demands, and that they adapt these strategies over the life course. The study will contribute to the academic literature by exploring a prominent theme in a very different way. Beyond adding to the academic literature, this study will also contribute to policy debates regarding work and family balance. In particular it will highlight how the need to care for children is a fundamental driver of both entry into self-employment and subsequent work and family strategies. This adds to the ongoing discussion about the need for adequate access to high-quality child care. The study also identifies that employers must go beyond their current efforts to assist employees in balancing work and family demands, particularly in terms of improving access to autonomy and flexibility within the workplace.

In progressing through the dissertation, the individual Chapters establish the necessity for exploring WFB among self-employed women, identify the theoretical perspectives that facilitate a proactive understanding of WFB, explain how and why I collected the data through in-depth interviews and questionnaires, and unpack the strategies that self-employed women use to balance their work and family demands. Chapter two summarizes the Canadian social context. This Chapter identifies how massive changes in work and family forms have made their effective combination so difficult. It also highlights that many individuals have turned to self-employment during this same time period, suggesting that self-employment may be an individual solution to a collective social problem. Chapters three and four summarize the WFB and self-employment academic literatures and identify a number of gaps and opportunities to improve our understanding of how self-employed women manage to meet their competing work and family demands. In particular, these Chapters identify that researchers have focused on negative reactions to ineffective work/family combination rather than on documenting how individuals actively attempt to facilitate that combination. Moreover the literature review identifies that although some researchers have concluded that women often enter self-employment for family reasons, we know very little about whether or how they are able to use self-employment to facilitate WFB.

Chapter five continues the literature review by focusing on the dominance of role theory within the work-family literature, and identifies weaknesses in this approach. After critiquing the ubiquity and utility of role theory, I propose an alternative theoretical framework that makes it possible to view work-family combination as an adaptive process, rather than as a 'problem' of irreconcilable social roles.

While the first five Chapters outline the rationale behind the study, the remaining Chapters describe and discuss the original dissertation research. Chapter six outlines the methodology and research design. In this Chapter I describe my sample of twenty-four women, divided equally between own-account self-employed women, and those who employ others. In addition to dividing the sample into own-account and employer self-employed, I also incorporated representation of the four industries where self-employed women most commonly work: Business Services, Health, Retail, and Other Services. Adding these dimensions into the sample allowed for recognition that self-employment is not a homogenous category, but rather represents a number of very different work arrangements. In addition to the divisions incorporated into this study, there are numerous other dimensions over which to compare the experiences of self-employed women, including workplace location, and full- or part-time status. Other researchers may have created their sample using these or other dimensions. The goal in selecting the sample for this study was to incorporate enough diversity to recognize the heterogeneity of the work-arrangement, while limiting variation on other dimensions (such as presence of children and marital status), to allow for meaningful comparison within the sample.

The data analysis covers Chapters seven through nine. Chapter seven documents how the self-employed women in the sample define "work and family balance" in their own terms. The women identify three key elements as crucial to gaining WFB: time, control, and flexibility. I argue that we can use their identification of these elements to move beyond current conceptualizations of WFB as the absence of conflict to further develop this as an independent theoretical concept.

Building on the themes of time, flexibility, and control, the remaining analysis Chapters identify and explore four distinct strategies for meeting work and family demands that emerged from the interviews. Strategies involved combinations of preferences to either combine (integrate) or separate (segment) work and family domains, and the primary motivations that women used in making WFB decisions. Motivations included personal preferences, the needs of their children, and the demands of their work. Combined domain preferences and primary motivations revealed

four strategies in use among study participants at the time of the interviews: Child-Based Integration, Child-Based Segmentation, Work-Based Segmentation, and Personal Preference Segmentation. In addition to highlighting unique strategies for balancing work and family demands, participants also described adopting different strategies over time as work and family needs changed. Identifying clear patterns in the active pursuit of WFB over time makes it possible to go beyond current formulations of WFB as a lack of conflict, to view WFB as a heterogeneous, proactive, and strategic process.

In addition to describing the distinct strategies and their primary motivations, I also examine patterns of flexibility and control among the strategies, with a particular focus on how the women in this study adopted different strategies over the life course. This discussion identifies that while self-employment offers access to flexibility and control, structural constraints in terms of work demands and childcare also affect work-family choices, often superseding personal WFB preferences. In the final two Chapters of the dissertation I outline the major findings of the research project and relate the adaptive WFB strategies back to the theoretical models that provided the conceptual framework for the study.

CHAPTER 2 - WORK/FAMILY BALANCE IN CANADA

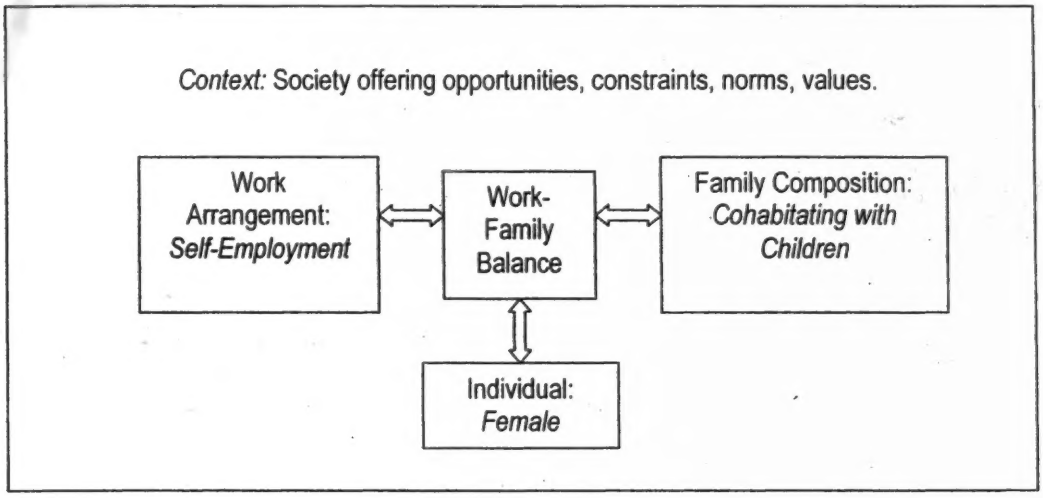
This Chapter examines elements of the social context in order to provide a foundation and rationale for the study. The summary of the Canadian social context begins with a review of changing work and family trends at the aggregate level, narrowing down to a focus on how families, policy makers, and organizations have adapted to these changes, and finally focuses on one type of individual adaptation to these changing social patterns – namely mothers entering self-employment. The overview of the social context highlights that while Canadian work and family institutions have undergone broad and sweeping changes that have affected a wide segment of the population, governments, organizations, and families have been slow to react. The purpose of this discussion is to identify that individuals' efforts to balance work and family demands are rooted in fundamental changes to work and family institutions that affect Canadian workers at both the individual and societal level.

Building on participants' personal definitions of 'work and family balance,' this study provides a foundation to enhance current conceptual understandings of crucial components of WFB, as well as the complex relationship between self-employment and WFB. In particular, study participants identified control, flexibility, and time as mediating their efforts to combine self-employment with family life. These concepts emerged as central themes throughout the interviews and provide a conceptual bridge between the experiences of the women in the study, the theoretical models, and the analytical framework, which I will outline below. The analytical framework highlights the necessity of understanding the social context encapsulating WFB, and this Chapter examines this social context. The analytical framework is a compilation of relevant social themes and constructs that supersedes both the theory and content of this study.

Fundamentally, the analytical framework argues that WFB occurs at the intersection between work, family, and individual. I created this framework to reflect core themes within the WFB literature and to guide the research project. At the end of the literature review, I will expand on this basic model by incorporating essential insights from existing research. The bi-directional arrows indicate that work arrangements, family composition, and individuals all impact on, and are in turn affected by WFB. The boxes indicate that within this study, all individuals are self-employed, married with children, and female, but the analytical framework would apply to individuals in other work and family arrangements as well. Society provides a social context

comprised of opportunities, constraints, norms, and values that impact upon all embedded social institutions, which in this framework include individual social actors, work, family, and WFB.

Figure 2: Analytical Framework



Children, spouses, occupations, employment status, educations, personal histories, and a multitude of other social factors all influence the decisions that individuals make while balancing work and family demands. These decisions in turn influence other actors and organizations within the social context, who may modify their own behaviours, structures, or programs to meet their changing needs. Because individuals act within a social context, are both influenced by and in turn influence that context, it is essential to understand the social context that they live within. Social context is also a unifying theme within the combined theoretical framework, particularly in terms of the structural opportunities and constraints influencing individual work and family decisions. While sociological treatment of any issue necessarily requires some acknowledgement of social context, it is doubly important in this study as it identifies the source of structural elements within society that mediate WFB among self-employed individuals.

This Chapter contains three major sections, addressing the trends highlighted in the preceding paragraphs and in the analytical framework. The first section describes a social context that limits our ability to manage competing work and family demands. This social context includes massive changes in the structure of the Canadian labour force and equally important changes in the composition of Canadian families.

In the second section, I outline that families, government policy makers, and employers have been slow to react to these substantially altered aggregate trends. I suggest that because governments and employers have not effectively adapted to macro-level changes in family structure and work-force demographics, individuals have been forced to develop personal solutions to a collective issue. I also argue that despite substantial increases in female labour force participation, women still retain primary responsibility for work in the domestic realm. They have thus increased their hours in paid labour without reducing their domestic work, creating a double burden on work/family combination.

In the third section I argue that within this context, self-employed women deserve closer academic scrutiny, particularly because researchers have suggested that many women enter self-employment in order to balance work and family demands. I develop this argument first by narrowing the discussion of macro-level trends in work and family to related trends for self-employed women, and second by relating structural elements of employment that researchers have postulated as being central to WFB to essential structural characteristics of self-employment. In particular, I suggest that self-employed women have access to structural work components (such as control over work and flexibility in work scheduling and location) that researchers have identified as facilitating WFB.

This study provides an opportunity to explore how self-employed women use the flexible and autonomous character of their work arrangement in pursuit of WFB, a relationship that has not been fully examined in previous studies. This Chapter focuses on the Canadian social context because it describes the social landscape where the study participants live. The academic literature on self-employment and WFB extends well beyond Canadian borders and I will incorporate this broader perspective into the academic literature review following this Chapter.

The Changing Canadian Labour Force

Since the 1970s, Canadian women have entered the workforce in significant numbers, with their entrance into paid employment outstripping men's by a factor of two to one (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997: 6). Significantly, it is working mothers who have the highest labour force participation rates, and because women often shoulder primary responsibility within the domestic realm, balancing the competing demands work and family realms has become a significant challenge for the majority of working adults (Frederick & Fast, 2001; Keita & Hurrell, 1995; Williams

& Alliger, 1994). In contrast to earlier periods of history, today the "traditional" nuclear single-earner family, with a bread-winner father, homemaker mother, and children, comprises just 10% of all family forms (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997: 6).

The breadwinner model allowed for a gendered division of labour in which men left the private realm of the home to work in the public sphere, supported by a fulltime homemaker wife, devoting all of her time and resources to adequately preparing men (and children) for their duties in the public realm. In this model, women were essentially relegated to the private realm of the home, where they engaged in the tasks associated with "social reproduction," including all activities "required to ensure day-to-day and generational survival" (Luxton, 1998: 58).

Luxton (1998: 58) argues that while both paid labour and unpaid domestic labour (social reproduction) are essential components of a capitalist economy, they are "fundamentally contradictory." While female labour force participation increased, the amount of social reproduction required in the home did not change, and the "contradictions between the demands of paid employment and domestic labour intensified" (Luxton, 1998: 59). In essence, employers need workers who are prepared for work through unpaid domestic labour in the home, but those workers cannot engage simultaneously in both paid economic and unpaid domestic labour. In other words, Luxton argues that individuals cannot do two things at once, or be in two places at one time. The closest approximation to full integration of paid and unpaid labour in the same physical space is homework. While the location of paid labour in the home makes integration possible, a number of researchers have argued that homeworkers seek separation rather than integration of their paid and unpaid work and find it exceptionally difficult to combine them effectively (Mirchandani, 1999: 93; Phizaclea & Wolkowitz, 1995: 17; Rangel de Paiva Abreu & Sorj, 1996: 96;)

Regardless of whether the breadwinner model was ever more reality than myth, employers largely continue to assume that their workers are free from the burden of family-related tasks, fully able to devote their time and energy to the organization (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 5). In reality however, workers with families must meet family demands, and so the increase in women's employment has left women and their families with less time to devote to fulfilling the often competing demands of paid and unpaid work, generating a time crunch, burnout, poor health, dissatisfaction with life at home as well as lower productivity and higher employee turnover in the workplace (Frederick & Fast, 2001:8). By increasing demands on essentially limited resources, changes in labour force participation, work-force composition, and working hours all have made

work-family combination more difficult. The following sections describe changing trends in labour force participation and composition that in combination reflect the demise of the breadwinner model, and the creation of the WFB dilemma.

Increasing female labour force participation

Women always have worked – both within and outside of the home. Even at the pinnacle of the "traditional" nuclear family – North America in the 1950s - nearly a quarter of women worked for pay outside of the home. Although formal participation in the paid work force has varied over time, Canadian trends show a clear and steady increase in paid labour force participation since the 1950s. In 1951, less than a quarter of Canadian women (24%) worked for pay outside of the home. Twenty years later (1971), the figure was 40%. The trend peaked in 1990 at 58%, fell to 57.5% from 1993 to 1995, and has since climbed steadily to a new high of 59.5% in 2000 (Lero & Johnson, 1994: 1; CANSIM Series D985032). Figure 3 provides a summary of male and female labour force participation rates from 1976 to 2002.

Figure 3: Labour Force Participation Rate, Men and Women, 1976 - 2002

Source: Statistics Canada – CANSIM Matrix 3472

The increasing numbers of women in the workforce mean that the difficulty of balancing work and family demands is an issue for increasing numbers of Canadian workers. Moreover, the

convergence of male and female labour force participation rates indicates that balancing work and family is an issue for an increasing share of the entire labour force (Luxton, 1998: 59).

Labour force participation of mothers with young children

With the majority of Canadian women now in the workplace, the breadwinner model no longer typifies the experience of the Canadian family, and has not done so for some time. In fact, mothers of small children have shown the steepest increase in labour force participation rates among Canadian women. Women with very young children, under three years of age, have nearly doubled their participation in the labour force, from 32% in 1976 to 62% in 1991 (Marshall, 1998: 77). By 1999, 68% of mothers of very young children were employed full-time in the labour force (Statistics Canada, 2000: 100). As children grow older, women are more likely to engage in full-time work, as fully 77% of Canadian women with children between six and fifteen years of age are currently in the paid workforce (Marshall, 1998: 77). This pattern also evolved in the United States, where mothers of preschoolers participating in the labour force increased five times between 1948 and 1987 to 57%, with 75% of working mothers engaging in full-time work by 1998 (Edwards, 2001: 188).

Polarization of working hours

In addition to the growing numbers of women in the labour market, there is mounting evidence that the amount of time workers devote to work also is changing. Typical working hours have undergone substantial changes since the beginning of the 1980s, when the portion of individuals working thirty-five to forty hour/week fell, while those working both shorter and longer hours increased (Drolet & Morissette, 1997:1). Individuals working less than thirty-four hours per week increased from 33% in 1980 to 38% in 1998 (Hall, 1999: 28). Women are far more likely than men to work short hours, and the proportion of women working short hours increased from 45% in 1980 to 50% in 1998 (Hall, 1999: 28). While the increases are not as substantial, the proportion of individuals working more than forty hours per week as increased from 17.3% to 20.6%, with women increasing their participation in this group from 8% to almost 12% (Hall, 1999: 28).

The relationship between working hours and WFB is significant on a number of fronts, particularly with regard to the number of hours individuals would *prefer* to work. Married Canadians would prefer to work fewer hours, while single, never married workers would prefer more hours

(Drolet & Morissette, 1997:8). Individuals in dual-income families tend to prefer decreased working hours, particularly as family income increases. Mothers of preschool aged children generally would prefer fewer working hours (Drolet & Morissette, 1997:8). In each of these instances, family characteristics clearly influence work hour preferences in directions that indicate that Canadian workers would prefer to have more time available to attend to family obligations.

Shifting gender composition of occupations

In addition to increases in overall female labour force participation rates, there have also been substantial shifts in the types of occupations that Canadian women enter. Partially fueled by increasing female educational levels, and academic concentration in non-traditional areas, women have increasingly entered into occupations that have traditionally been male-dominated (Hughes, 2001: 84; 1995: 14). Of the occupations that experienced the steepest increase in female workers between 1986 and 1991, the greatest increases were in management, administrative, and professional categories (Hughes, 1995: 17).

Occupational shifts are significant within the work/family literature, because researchers have established differing patterns of WFB outcomes by occupational category. Duxbury & Higgins (2001: 22) argue that workers in managerial and professional occupations share a number of characteristics that facilitate WFB, in particular greater access to both "flexibility and personal control over the timing of work," and higher salaries. Workers can translate scheduling flexibility/control over timing of work into WFB by interrupting their work to attend to family-related tasks during work time, taking preferred holiday time, and arranging work schedules "to meet personal and family commitments" (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 54). Workers with higher salaries can facilitate WFB by purchasing goods and services to help them combine or fulfill competing work and family demands (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 22). Examples of balance-facilitating goods and services include high-quality childcare or in-home nannies, and weekly housekeeping services.

Duxbury & Higgins' research shows that although professionals have greater access to resources that facilitate WFB, job type (professional vs. non-professional) actually has a stronger negative impact on work/family role combination than gender, with professionals experiencing both higher 'role overload' and higher 'work to family conflict' than non-professionals (2001: 27). Their findings are similar to recent American data, in which a nationally representative sample of

managers and professional service-sector workers reported more negative spillover from work to family than non-professional (Grzywacz, Almeida, & McDonald, 2002: 33).

Although professional workers report more negative outcomes in terms of balancing work and family (as measured by role overload, work to family conflict and negative spillover), Duxbury & Higgins did find as predicted, that workers with greater work-time and location flexibility had lower levels of negative work/family outcomes than workers without this flexibility. Grzywacz et. al. (2002: 34) suggest that higher reported negative work/family outcomes among professionals may be an artifact of increasing awareness of WFB issues among this group, rather than a feature of their work arrangements per se.

Changing Canadian Families

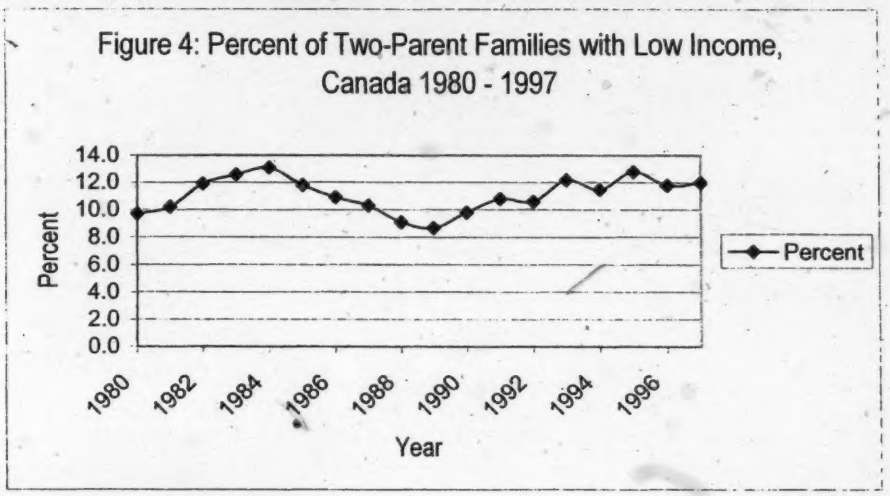
As with the labour force, Canadian families also have undergone substantial changes over the last half of the twentieth century, and in aggregate form these changes represent a number of distinct trends. Among the trends impacting on our ability to balance competing work and family demands are increases in dual-income families, increases in lone-parent families, and the overall aging of the population.

Dual-income families in Canada

The evolving nature of the Canadian workforce also includes an increase in the number of dual-income families. According to MacBride-King and Paris (1989: 18), in 1961 only 20% of two-parent families had both parents working outside of the home, and by 1979, this had more than doubled to 51% of all two-parent families. By 1999, both parents were working in 64%, of families (Statistics Canada, 2002).

Research indicates that this trend is unlikely to reverse, as many families appear to have sent both parents out into the workforce not only for personal reasons (i.e. career aspirations, self-fulfilment), but also for basic economic necessities. The percentage of two-parent families that fall below Canada's Low-Income Cut-Off level has remained relatively consistent despite the increase in dual-income families over the same time period, as indicated by Figure 4 below:

Figure 4: Percent of Two-Parent Families with Low Income, Canada 1980 - 1997



Source: Statistics Canada, 2000: 151

More precisely, in 1995, 5% of dual-income families were considered 'low income', and without the contribution of the wife's income, this group would have more than tripled, to 18% (Duxbury, Higgins & Johnson, 1999: 9). More recent estimates suggest that the number of two-parent families living in poverty would double without the wives' earnings (National Council on Welfare, 2000). Similarly, women who experience the loss of an income earning spouse are four times more likely to enter poverty than women who do not (Lochhead and Scott, 2000: 51).

The increase in dual-income families has created increasing strains on individual workers, as less time is available to complete necessary daily tasks (Marshall & Barnett, 1995: 253). Duxbury, Higgins, Lee, and Mills (1991: 54), in a study of federal public servants in the capital region of Canada, found that 32% of dual-income mothers and 22% of dual income fathers experience high levels of work-family conflict, compared to only 9% of traditional fathers, whose wives are not in the paid work force. According to the 1998 General Social Survey, approximately two-thirds of full-time employed parents in dual-income families were dissatisfied with the level of WFB, and both mothers and fathers attributed their dissatisfaction to "not having enough time with family" (Silver, 2000: 26).

The participants in the dissertation research also identified the importance of time in achieving WFB. In addition to expressing the importance of 'having enough time' to spend with their children, they also identified that being able to 'control time' also facilitated WFB. Throughout

the dissertation, time (like flexibility and control) serves as a consistent theme, linking the dissertation research with the theoretical and analytical models, as well as with the work-family and self-employment academic literatures. I develop these themes throughout the dissertation in order to create conceptual bridges between this research project and the academic and social context of WFB.

Increase in lone-parent families

The number of lone-parent families also has increased throughout the 1990s. By 1996, the number of families led by lone parents (both male and female) was just over one million, an increase of 19% from 1991 and 33% from 1986 (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 6). Of the 1.1 million lone-parent families in 1996, 945,000 (86%) were led by women, representing 19% of all families with children (Statistics Canada, 2000: 32). Recent Labour Force Survey data (1999) indicates that female lone parents are less likely to be employed than mothers who are married (61% compared to 70%) (Statistics Canada, 2000, 32). However, like other mothers, they have increased their labour force participation over time, increasing from 48% in 1976, to 53% in 1981, to its current level of 61% (Statistics Canada, 2000, 32). The presence of young children has a substantial impact on single female parents' participation in the labour force. While 63% of married mothers of children younger than three were employed in the labour force in 1999, only 38% of lone-parent mothers were similarly employed. While the percentages change, the relative relationship holds regardless of the age of youngest children, lone-parent mothers are always less likely to be employed than married mothers. When they are employed, however, they shoulder a double-burden of work and family demands, which they must often complete without assistance, a problem that is often exacerbated by reduced family income (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 7).

Impact of population aging on the labour force

The aging of Canada's population also has implications for both the labour market, and the demands placed on working Canadian families. Canada's low fertility rate has led to an aging of the workforce, characterized by an "overrepresentation" of workers in their prime working years, followed by an insufficient pool of replacement workers aged fifteen to twenty-four years (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 7).

This demographic shift has implications for both individuals and the companies that employ them. As individuals age, they are more likely to enter the 'sandwich generation' – a group of individuals (usually women) who are primarily responsible for the needs of both children and aging parents (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 7). Adding care-giving or assistance to aging parents to the roster of family obligations generally exacerbates an already difficult combination of work and family demands (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 7). In 1996, almost one million Canadian women aged twenty-five to fifty-four provided both unpaid childcare and care or assistance to a senior, representing 15% of all women in this age group (9% of men in this age range provide both unpaid child and elder care)(Statistics Canada, 2000: 114).

The limited size of the replacement pool of workers impacts organizations in two ways. First, there simply will not be enough of them available to replace all currently existing workers. Second, in addition to their limited numbers, it appears that this group of replacement workers may not be sufficiently educated or skilled to fill current and predicted growth in highly skilled jobs (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 10). With the pool of available, educated and highly trained workers shrinking, organizations must become more competitive in both recruiting and training employees. One of the ways that organizations can become more competitive is by recognizing the salience of WFB difficulties and establishing policies to help their workers to cope.

The inability of employers to facilitate WFB has significant implications in terms of absenteeism, productivity, and turnover (Glass & Estes, 1997: 297). As I will discuss throughout the analysis Chapters, a number of the self-employed women in this study left paid employment specifically because they felt that it hindered their ability to balance their work and family demands. Their experiences provide insight into how employers can develop work-arrangements that will facilitate WFB among employees.

Taken together, changes in work and family trends at the aggregate level indicate that combining work and family responsibilities has become a significant challenge for a growing number of working Canadians. Despite the large numbers of individuals affected by the difficulty of combining paid work and domestic labour, the overall response to the issue by families, governments, and employers has been relatively muted, as outlined in the following sections.

Responses to Changing Work and Family Trends

The substantial changes to work and family institutions clearly necessitate some form of adjustment to traditional methods for their efficient combination. The following sections discuss how families, governments, employers, and individuals have responded to these massive changes.

How have families adapted?

While the structure of the labour force and nature of paid work has changed substantially throughout the twentieth century, the organization of unpaid work in the home has been very resistant to change. Despite dramatic increases in the level of women's paid labour outside of the home, they still retained primary responsibility for domestic labour within the home (Luxton, 1998: 59). The majority of studies examining the gendered division of labour within the home rely on time use diaries to document time spent in a variety of activities. The general patterns emerging from this body of research confirm that while couples without children tend to share housework relatively equitably, once children enter the relationship, women's share of family-related work in the home increases dramatically (Hochschild, 1989; Luxton, 1998; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Shelton, 1992, Woolley, 1998). The evidence that men spend less time on housework than women is unequivocal. Even in homes where women's paid earnings outstrip their husbands', they still spend at least 13 more hours on housework than men (Crittenden, 2001: 24). In families where working mothers become unemployed, they complete 75% of housework, when the situation is reversed and working fathers become unemployed, their share of housework generally does not exceed 30% (Crittenden, 2001: 24).

The amount of time spent doing housework is clearly related to perceived levels of WFB. According to the 1998 General Social Survey, women who were satisfied with their balance between work and family spent less time overall on both paid work (thirty-four hours/week) and housework (six hours/week), than those women who were dissatisfied with WFB (thirty-eight hours and seven hours/week) (Frederick & Fast, 2001: 9). Overall, women make the majority of concessions in meeting family demands when both husbands and wives work, and even in cases where only wives are working. Thus it is individual women, rather than family units, who modify their behaviour to accommodate work and family demands (Aria, 2000: 139). Families have been slow to adapt to women's increasing participation in the labour market, the next section argues that

the Canadian Government has also been negligent in facilitating this transition in terms of public policy support for working families.

How has government policy adapted?

Kathy O'Hara's international comparative analysis of family policy suggests that Canada has a relatively hands-off approach to governing family life. Despite wide-ranging changes in work and family over the last decade, the federal government has introduced few policy changes aimed at assisting families to balance work and family demands. While the federal government recently introduced a generous increase in maternity leave benefits, there is no federally funded national child care program available to help parents find or pay for high-quality child care (O'Hara, 1998: 8). O'Hara suggests that Canada falls between the United States and Western European Countries in terms of its support of employed parents, with the U.S. offering the least support of all countries in the study (1998: 19).

Federal support for families in Canada falls within three general categories: income security, developmental programs for children with special needs, and balancing work and family (Jenson, 1999: vii, O'Hara, 1998: 8). Income security initiatives involve programs to supplement the household income of families with children, recognizing the higher costs for these families when compared to families without children. These programs include tax deductions for dependent children as well as family allowances (Jenson, 1999: vii). In 1993, universal family allowance cash transfers for all Canadian children were replaced with the Child Tax Benefit for parents in low-income families (Mahon, 2001: 9). Policies directed toward children with developmental deficiencies are designed to identify and treat problems at an early age, to offset further delays, and to assist parents in keeping their children at home, as opposed to in treatment facilities (Jenson, 1999: vii). Policies aimed at helping families balance work and family demands include publicly funded income-dependent cost relief for day care, and partially funded parental leave (Jenson, 1999: 3, O'Hara, 1998: 8).

The initial goal of the publicly funded day care program was to generate a public childcare system that was more accessible to low-income families and more affordable for middle and upper income families. Unfortunately, the program has been stifled by a lack of available childcare spaces (Jenson, 1999: vii). Canada falls substantially short of Western European countries (particularly France, the Netherlands, and Sweden) in providing universal access to high quality

day care. While 40% of four and five year old Canadians spend at least part of their week in some form of care arrangement, only 12.2% of these are in federally licensed programs (Kohen & Hertzman, 1998: 2). Despite polls indicating that 77% of Canadians would support a federally funded national child care program, the government has not yet instituted this type of program in Canada, leaving families to piece together child care within a limited range of choices (O'Hara, 1998: 8).

The goal of parental leave benefits is to allow parents to spend time with their newborn children by supplementing their income when they are away from paid work. In addition to paid parental leaves, all provinces have unpaid maternal and paternal leaves. These unpaid leaves extend beyond the fifteen weeks of maternity leave and ten weeks of parental leave, and guarantee the wage earner access to the same or equivalent job when they return to work. These leaves currently are tied to the Employment Insurance program. This means that in order to collect full maternal and parental leave funding, parents must have worked six hundred hours in the fifty-two weeks prior to the leave (Human Resources Development Canada, 2003). This categorization excludes from leave part-time workers, students, individuals who have taken maternity or parental leave in the preceding year, and individuals not paying into the Employment Insurance program, a group that includes self-employed workers. These restrictions meant that in 1998, less than half (49%) of all families with newborn children were eligible for maternity and parental benefits (Jenson, 1999: 18). Inadequate access to both childcare and maternity/parental benefits means that government programs aimed at facilitating WFB are failing significant numbers of working Canadians.

How have employers responded?

Recognizing workers' demands for more WFB, and motivated to recruit and retain employees, organizations have responded along two general paths: through the development of "family-friendly" workplace benefits or policies, and the incorporation of Alternative Work Arrangements (AWAs) (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 10; Marshall & Barnett, 1995: 253; Powell & Mainiero, 1999: 41). Family-friendly policies include child- and elder-care support, vacation time, sick leave, and unpaid or personal leave (Marshall & Barnett, 1995: 253; Osterman, 1995: 682). While specific WFB policies and their implementation vary substantially between organizations, at the broadest level they "loosen managerial control over the hours and scheduling of work, allow

time for child-rearing, and guarantee adequate substitute care for young children" (Glass & Estes, 1997: 292). Alternative work arrangements (AWAs) offer employees alternatives to "traditional, full-time, fixed-hour and fixed-place work-arrangements" by introducing flexibility in the timing and location of work (Lobel & Kossek, 1996: 221; Powell & Mainiero, 1999: 41).

Both external pressures (including consumers, unions, governments, inter-firm competition, and changing personnel standards), and internal pressures (from employees searching for assistance in balancing work and family demands) drive organizational implementation of family friendly policies and AWAs (Osterman, 1995: 681; Powell & Mainiero, 1999: 41). Ideally these policies and AWAs eliminate or decrease negative cross-over effects between work and family domains. Problems in the work domain can affect the physical and mental health of workers, marital satisfaction, and parenting behaviours, including the amount of time spent with children (Glass & Estes, 1997: 294). Difficulty managing family demands, particularly childcare, contribute to absenteeism, decreased productivity, and turnover (Glass & Estes, 1997: 296).

Organizations often integrate family-friendly benefits and AWAs into their structures and programs while adopting various 'high performance or high commitment workplace' models, which seek to improve both quality of working life for employees as well as objective external firm performance (Godard, 2001: 776, Osterman, 1995: 681). AWAs offer individual employees the potential to facilitate WFB through scheduling and location flexibility, and benefit firms by increasing both the commitment of current employees as well as recruitment of new employees, because they "symbolize a concern for employees that fosters organizational attachment" (Powell & Mainiero, 1999: 41).

Family-friendly AWAs can be grouped into three broad categories that capture variable flexibility in the timing and location of work: *reduced-hours work arrangements, full-time work with time flexibility,* and *full-time work with location flexibility* (Ontario Women's Directorate, 1991). Conceptually, alternatives to standard, full-time, weekday, centrally-located work arrangements have the potential of contributing to WFB by making the timing and location of paid work either less onerous, or more flexible, or both. The following sections outline the impact of various AWAs on WFB, within the Canadian context. While self-employed women rarely have access to employment benefits that mirror the family-friendly benefits in employing organizations, they often have the

discretion to adopt structurally flexible work arrangements (Delage, 2002: 45, 52). For this reason, the discussion below focuses on AWAs rather than family-friendly benefits.

Reduced-hours-of-work arrangements

Reduced hours of work arrangements include part-time work and job sharing. In 1995, 10% of men and 29% of women held part-time jobs, and 8% of Canadians held job-sharing work arrangements (Galarneau, 1998: 13). Part-time work involves fewer than full-time hours and often introduces an element of reduced job-quality, with benefits and job security often being compromised. Job-sharing generally involves two employees who want to work part-time hours sharing one full-time job, often splitting any work-related benefits such as vacation time and pensions.

A number of Canadian researchers have documented the relationship between part-time work and various work/family outcome measures, including 'pressure' (Duffy & Pupo, 1994); 'time-stress' (Fast & Frederick, 1996); and 'work-family conflict' (Duxbury et. al, 1991). Duffy & Pupo (1994: 128-129) found that most female part-time workers "describe their lives as less pressured than those of full-time employees" while they "still are able to enjoy the stimulation and challenge associated with working outside the home." Fast & Frederick (1996:16) found that for workers who wanted to decrease time-stress, part-time work was the most effective alternative work arrangement. Full-time women were twice as likely, and full-time men were three times more likely to be highly time-stressed than their part-time counterparts (Fast & Frederick, 1996: 16). In contrast with these findings, Duxbury et. al. (1991: 87) found that although working part-time allows workers more time to spend on family responsibilities, it does not reduce work-family conflict. Neither Fast & Frederick, nor Duxbury et. al. examined the relationship between job-sharing and time stress, but Marshall (1997:7) found that it led to "more energy and less stress" than conventional work arrangements.

Full-time work with time flexibility

When employees work full-time with time flexibility, they work full-time hours but have some discretion regarding when they work their hours. Two examples of this type of arrangement are flex-time and compressed work weeks. In flex-time arrangements, employees arrange hours

[within general guidelines provided by their employer] that allow them to coordinate work and family activities. For example, employees may start and end their days earlier than a standard 9 am – 5 pm schedule so that they can pick up or drop off their children at school. Access to flex-time arrangements grew from 17% in 1991 to 24% in 1995, with men slightly more likely to hold flex-time arrangements than women (53% vs., 47%) (Galarneau, 1998: 18). Employers that offer this alternative generally schedule bands of "core" hours during which the employee must be present, and "flex" hours that give the employees discretion regarding start and stop times for the work day (Ontario Women's Directorate, 1991: 32).

Fast & Frederick (1996) found that Canadian women with flex-time were less likely to be highly time-stressed than women without this arrangement (18% vs. 23% respectively). Men with and without flex-time showed a similar pattern of time-stress, although the difference was not significant (14% of men with flex-time are 'highly stressed, compared to 16% of men without flex-time arrangements) (Fast & Frederick, 1996: 17). Given women's larger share of family-related activities, it is not particularly surprising that flex-time has a larger impact on their time-stress, and it appears that flex-time is at least partially effective in reducing the balancing burden for women. Although there appears to be some difference between genders, Duxbury et. al. found no overall difference in work-family conflict between respondents working flex-time, and those working in standard arrangements (1991: 7).

In compressed work-week arrangements workers work fewer, but longer days per week (e.g.: four - ten hour days as opposed to five – eight hour days). In 1992, 9% of employees held compressed-work-week arrangements, with no variation by gender (Fast & Frederick, 1996: 16). Fast & Frederick (1996: 18) found that this work pattern actually increased time-stress among female workers, and had no impact on male workers. The increased stress resulted from longer work-days overlapping with daily events such as sporting activities and meal times, thus making the longer working days more stressful than regular working days (Fast & Frederick, 1996: 18).

Full-time work with location flexibility

Full-time work with location flexibility includes flex-place and home-work arrangements. Definitions of flexible location arrangements vary, but generally, workers with flex-place arrangements work some portion of their work week away from the central office, at a location of their choosing (often at home), and home-workers complete all of their paid work at home. In 1992,

22% of all employees held flex-place work arrangements, with minimal variation by gender (men 23%, women 21%), although women with children held the greatest likelihood of utilizing flex-place arrangements at 27% (Fast & Frederick, 1996: 16).

Duxbury et. al. (1991: 9) found that workers with location flexibility exhibit lower levels of conflict than strictly centralized workers, and that this arrangement appeared to be most beneficial of all alternative work arrangements. Workers with this alternative arrangement are more involved with their work, have higher work expectations, are more satisfied with their work overall, and perceive less stress than workers with standard arrangements (1991: 9). Interestingly, Fast & Frederick (1996: 16) found that flex-place arrangements had no impact on time-stress for either male or female workers.

Flex-place workers (those with the computer technology to carry out a portion of their work tasks at home), traded the flexibility of working partially at home for an extended work day, as these workers worked significantly more hours per day than centralized workers. These workers spent more time working, and less time on childcare, household tasks, and themselves than centralized workers, and also had significantly more difficulty managing both family and individual time (Duxbury et. al., 1991: 96). Although time was a significant problem for these workers, female flex-place workers had less work-family conflict, and were more satisfied with their work overall than were centralized workers. For men, the relationship between flex-place and family demands was more negative. Male flex-place workers had more difficulty managing individual time, and experienced significantly more work-family conflict.

Duxbury et. al. suggest that female flex-place workers experience less work-family conflict while working in the home because they have been socialized to "give family roles priority over work demands when in the home domain," although they did not collect data regarding whether or how women exhibited this prioritizing of responsibilities (1991: 100). They did indicate that these women spend significantly more time on both work and family tasks than centralized workers, but did not explain whether interaction between the worker and family members makes paid work more difficult and time-consuming. In other words, they did not indicate how productive the excess work hours at home were, or investigate work productivity based on sex. If female, but not male, flex-place workers place a higher priority on family when in the home, we should expect the females to allow more work interruptions, or make greater efforts to accommodate family issues than their

male counterparts. No data is available in the Duxbury et. al. study to compare balancing strategies based on gender.

Although the research by Duffy & Pupo, (1994), Duxbury et. al.,(1991), Fast & Frederick (1996), and Galarneau (1998) generated a number of significant findings regarding the variation of work/family conflict by alternative work arrangement, the studies are limited in a number of ways. All of these studies utilize self-ratings of conflict or stress as indicators of WFB, rather than focusing on the proactive strategies that individuals can develop to manage their work and family domains more effectively. In other words they focus on the lack of balance rather than strategies for obtaining balance. In addition, Fast & Frederick (1996), and Galarneau (1998) restricted their analysis to descriptive levels of conflict and did not attempt to generate any theoretical understanding of their findings. Finally, these studies imposed measures of WFB on participants that did not address how individual working parents define WFB in their own terms. While these studies provide information that is essential to our understanding of how work arrangements can influence WFB, the studies provide limited access to the subjective experience of WFB and do not attempt to document adaptive strategies that individuals can or do use to obtain balance or limit conflict.

Even though alternative work arrangements offer the potential for facilitating WFB, they can do nothing to help working parents if their employers do not offer or implement them. While many companies offer AWAs in order to recruit new employees, those same employees may later find their immediate supervisors actually restrict access to alternative work arrangements (Milliken, Martins, and Morgan, 1998: 590). In Canada, flex-time arrangements are available to only 25% of workers, and less than 10% use telework (flex-place) arrangements (Akyeampong, 1997: 49). Duxbury & Higgins (2001: 60) found that self-reports of role overload and family-to-work interference increase when employers offer, but do not implement family-friendly work-arrangements and policies. In other words, offering family-friendly policies is not sufficient. Improving work-family outcomes requires organizational cultures and immediate supervisors that support the goals of facilitating WFB (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 60).

Business organizations have been slow to both adopt and implement work arrangements that may facilitate WFB. This limited response may not be surprising given that the immediate impact on bottom line profits is often negative. Meyer, Mukerjee, & Sestero (2001: 37) found that extended maternity leaves, supplemental childcare benefits and job sharing programs all

negatively impact corporate profits. These researchers indicate that work/family benefit programs and alternative work arrangements often only indirectly increase company profits through lower turnover and absenteeism. Perhaps it is the combination of direct negative impact on profits and only indirect potential for benefit through increased employee commitment that has limited corporate adoption of alternative work arrangements. Regardless of the reasoning behind it, corporate organizations have been reluctant to implement programs that could help their workers to balance their competing work and family needs (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 9).

How have individuals responded?

Despite substantial changes in the Canadian labour force and in working families, family demands and government policy have remained relatively stagnant. While employers adopt work-friendly policies and work-arrangements, they are often reluctant to provide universal access to these programs. In the face of conflicting work and family demands and inadequate structural support, individuals are left to create their own work-family solutions. In a study examining female responses to "rigid demands in the home and rigid demands at work," Arai (2000: 127) found that women make adjustments in both home and work domains. He indicated that women make their domestic responsibilities more flexible by transferring some domestic tasks to other family members, by hiring outside help, and by lowering their standards of household cleanliness (Arai, 2000: 127). Duxbury & Higgins (2001: 63) found that employees encountering work-life conflict were more likely to "leave things undone around the house, get by on less sleep, cut down on outside activities, buy more goods and services, and engage in negative coping behaviours" including increased alcohol and drug consumption.

In terms of adjustments in the work domain, Arai suggested that women accommodate competing work and family demands by moving into part-time work or lower-level positions, and by entering self-employment. Using data from Statistics Canada's 1995 Survey of Work Arrangements, Arai found that the presence of children was more strongly related to female than male self-employment, and that "women turn to self-employment as a way to manage" the competing demands of work and family much more so than men (2000: 139). Arai argues self-employment facilitates WFB through control within the work domain, stating "self-employed women have control over the type of job they do, and likely have more control over their hours of work than employees, which might allow them to strike a satisfactory balance between home and work"

(2000: 140). Whether and how they are successful in translating the control and flexibility of self-employment into WFB is one of the fundamental research questions of this dissertation.

The preceding discussion has raised a number of points regarding the changing Canadian the labour market, changing Canadian families, and how individuals, governments, and employers have adapted to those changes. Perhaps the most general point is that Canadians are having a difficult time combining their work and family demands, and although alternative work arrangements provide the promise of some relief, few Canadians have access to those work arrangements. When Canadian researchers have examined WFB issues they have documented not balance and how it can be achieved, but rather the negative repercussions when individuals fail to attain it (focusing on the problem rather than the solutions). I will expand on this limitation in the next Chapter.

Perhaps researchers have focused on passive and negative reactions to work-family conflict because employed workers have very little opportunity to make their situation better (a problem exacerbated by insufficient policy and corporate response), and must simply cope with varying levels of resulting conflict. Concentrating research on workers who have the opportunity to manipulate features of the work environment in search of WFB makes it possible to identify more proactive and strategic responses to incompatible work and family demands. Examining the WFB efforts of self-employed workers provides an opportunity to redirect this research focus. The following sections examine the potential benefit of adding the experiences of self-employed women into the larger work/family debate.

Changing Self-Employment and Family Trends

As indicated above, a number of researchers have proposed a link between self-employment and family, arguing specifically that Canadian women may be entering self-employment in order to facilitate WFB. While this Chapter examines the Canadian social context, it is important to note that American and British researchers have also made this argument (Boden, 1999; Carr, 1996; Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998; Green & Cohen, 1995). The following sections explore the connection between Canadian self-employment and work-family trends, and identify the need to examine this relationship directly, and in more depth. The studies reviewed in this section confirm that female self-employment is highly correlated with family-related variables, but do not

establish whether or how women translate self-employment into positive WFB outcomes. This leaves room to investigate the relationship directly, providing substantial justification for this research project.

Increasing participation rates

Women's participation in self-employment rose dramatically over the last quarter of the 1990s. Female self-employment, as a share of total female employment, increased from 8.8% in 1976, peaked at 13.3% in 1998, and decreased slightly to 11.2% by 2001 (See Figure 5 below - Cansim Matrix 3472; Hughes, 1999: 13).

Figure 5: Self-Employment as Share of Total Employment, Men and Women, Canada 1976 – 2001

Source: Statistics Canada – CANSIM Matrix 3472

Coinciding with their overall increase in the labour force, women also have increased their share of overall self-employment (from 26% in 1976, to 31% in 1990, to 35% in 1999) (Statistics Canada, 2000: 104) along with their share of the total *growth* in self-employment, accounting for 40% of the increase between 1980 and 1989, and 48% of the increase between 1989 and 1996 (Statistics Canada, 1997b: 10).

Even though women's share of self-employment and share of the growth in self-employment has increased steadily over the last three decades, it is important to situate this pattern within the overall trend of increasing female labour force participation, because it highlights that the *relative* increase in self-employment has been somewhat less substantial (Hughes, 1999: 15). Nonetheless, the continuous growth in self-employment and women's increasing share within this category both signify the importance of this work arrangement, and the necessity of understanding its place in the broader context of work and family, particularly because a number of self-employment researchers have concluded that women often seek this form of employment for family reasons.

Particularly among mothers of young children:

Of particular interest to the proposed study is the impact of children on women's entrance into self-employment, as documented by a number of North American studies. Arai (2000), Boden (1999), Carr (1996), and Marshall (1999) all have documented significant links between the existence of small children in the home and the likelihood that women will be self-employed. American researchers Boden (1996, 1999) and Carr (1996) found that having small children has a large and positive effect on the odds of women's – but not men's - likelihood of being self-employed. Boden (1999: 74) found that having at least one child less than six years of age was significantly and positively related to female self-employment (the presence of young children is negatively related to male self-employment). Carr (1996: 30) suggested that "women with small children who have the resources to facilitate the starting of their own business... will opt for self-employment over wage and salary work because it allows more flexibility than traditional wage and salary employment and a greater degree of autonomy than other forms of contingent work, including part-time, shift, and temporary work." For both Boden and Carr, the relationship between having small children and likelihood of being self-employed isolates a significant difference between men's and women's motivations to enter this type of work relationship.

Canadian researcher Bruce Arai (2000: 137) found that the effect of children on entry into self-employment was much greater for women – children had no impact on male entry into self-employment – and concluded that this pattern was "consistent with the idea that it is women who are expected to make adjustments when home and work demands conflict, and that one of these adjustments may be becoming self-employed."

While these studies adequately establish that young children have a disproportionate impact on female entry into self-employment (when compared to male self-employment), they fail to adequately highlight that young children are also likely to be associated with female *employment*. In Carr's study for example, 7% of employed women had children between birth and seventeen years of age, compared to 8.7% of self-employed women (1996: 33). More importantly however, 8.7% of employed women had children less than six years old, compared to only 6.8% of self-employed women. Thus the overall positive association between the presence of young children and female self-employment must be situated (and understood) within a context that recognizes the experience of other working women, not just similarly self-employed males.

Moreover, while these studies establish the positive correlation between motherhood and self-employment, they fail to examine WFB as an outcome measure. Research that establishes that women are likely to enter self-employment when they have young children does not adequately address whether or how self-employment facilitates WFB.

And in dual-income families:

While the growth in self-employment in Canada has been substantial over the last thirty years, the growth in the number of dual-earner couples where one member is self-employed has been even more significant. In 1976, 21% of dual earner couples contained at least one self-employed individual. By 1998, this portion had grown to 33%, an increase from 405,000 couples in 1976 to 1.2 million couples in 1998 (Statistics Canada, 2002). As identified earlier, balancing work and family demands is particularly difficult within dual-income families because these families have little extra time to divide between competing domains. One possible explanation for the increase in self-employment among dual-earner couples is the potential for this work arrangement to facilitate WFB. Chapter four focuses exclusively on the academic literature linking self-employment and family variables, and summarizes what we currently know about the impact of self-employment on WFB. In essence the review will establish that while we know that self-employment is closely related to family characteristics for women, we know very little about whether or how they manage to balance these two life trajectories.

Self-Employment and Alternative Work Arrangements

The preceding sections summarized existing employee-focused Canadian research on WFB with particular reference to the impact of alternative work arrangements. They also identified three structural adaptations to standard work arrangements as facilitating WFB: reduced hours of work, time flexibility, and location flexibility. There is substantial crossover between self-employment and the alternative work arrangements along these dimensions, highlighting the potential for self-employment to contribute to WFB. The following sections highlight links between alternative work arrangements and the work practices of self-employed women.

In terms of hours of work, self-employment offers a mixed pattern, as while self-employed Canadians tend to work longer hours than employees, they also are more likely to work part time (less than thirty hours per week), and self-employed women are more likely than self-employed men to work part-time (Statistics Canada, 1997a: 33). In regards to time flexibility, just over 9% of Canada's self-employed women consider access to 'flexible scheduling' as their main reason for choosing this work arrangement (Statistics Canada, 1997a: 36). As for location flexibility, a further 12.6% of self-employed women state that they chose to enter self-employment because it allowed them to work from home. Men do not appear to use self-employment arrangements in the same way, as only 4.4% cite flexible scheduling, and only a negligible amount cite working from home as reasons for entering self-employment (Statistics Canada, 1997a: 36).

The overlap between self-employment and other alternative work arrangements confirms the potential for this work arrangement to contribute to WFB. Flexibility provides a salient example. Self-employed women often enter this arrangement for its flexibility, and flexibility facilitates WFB. However, the allure of flexibility in self-employment must be weighed against the contradictory findings of Fast & Frederick (1996) who found that flex-time reduced work-related stress, and Duxbury et. al. (1991) who found that this arrangement had no impact on work-family conflict.

As with flexibility, the ability to work from home also appears to be only tentatively related to WFB, with Fast & Frederick (1996) observing no relationship, and Duxbury et. al.(1991) finding this to be the most beneficial of all work arrangements. What is particularly interesting about the Duxbury et. al findings regarding work-at-home arrangements (sought by 12.6% of self-employed women) is that women using this arrangement tends to increase the amount of time they spend doing non-work related tasks, leading to an overall decrease in non-productive (leisure) hours. Duncan (1999: 21-22) offers a number of explanations for the larger number housework hours

spent by home-based workers, including higher standards of household work, or replacing commuting time with housework. While these similarities between self-employment and other alternative work arrangements identify potential opportunities for WFB among self-employed women, gaps in the existing literature, particularly the absence of self-employed workers from research designs, offer ample room to explore this relationship directly.

Contributing to the Literature: WFB Among Self-Employment Women

Many Canadians are having a difficult time meeting their work and family demands. Researchers have identified that alternative work arrangements, family-friendly policies, and supportive supervisors offer the possibility of some relief. Unfortunately few employed Canadians have access to these benefits. Self-employed workers, and women in particular, seek out this work arrangement in search of the flexibility in timing and work location that can facilitate WFB, and yet few researchers have examined how (or if) these women have capitalized on that flexibility while seeking work and family balance. This study will fill this important gap in our existing knowledge base. Including self-employed women in the general WFB literature is important for a number of reasons:

First, self-employment accounts for a growing portion of workers in the Canadian economy. As discussed earlier in this Chapter, there has been substantial growth of self-employment both for women and men over the past two decades. The influx of women into self-employment, not only in Canada, but also in the United States and Great Britain, has been accompanied by increased academic interest in the experiences of self-employed women (Hughes, 1999: 4). Yet, in work-family research, very few studies address the particular circumstances of this expanding pool of self-employed Canadian women (Hughes, 1999: 13).

Second, in addition to mere increases in numbers, and alongside adjustments in paid work, the *nature* of self-employment and of self-employed workers also have changed dramatically over the last 25 years. Although it is difficult to isolate exact numbers, at least some of the growth in self-employment has resulted from downsized employees returning to work for their previous employers as 'disguised –employees' (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001: 15). These individuals perform similar work, but in their new employment contracts have given up access to Employment Insurance, work-place benefits, overtime and vacation pay, and employer-sponsored pensions

(Gringeri, 1996: 184; Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001: 15). Self-employed contractors with few, or even just one main client often have few of the potential benefits of the work arrangement including little control over their own work arrangements or potential income (Gringeri, 1996: 186). Limited control over the structure of work challenges one of the most fundamental characteristics of self-employment (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001: 15).

There are also clear patterns in the characteristics of workers that enter self-employment. While women's participation in self-employment grew along with their entry into paid work, a number of characteristics distinguish employed from self-employed women. Most significantly, self-employed women are more likely to be married, and to have children under six years old than are employed women (Boden, 1996, 1999; Carr, 1996; Marshall, 1999). Being married, female, and having children under six years old are all clearly associated in the WFB literature with the highest levels of work/family imbalance (stress or conflict) (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001).

Third, while self-employment provides access to flexibility in work location and scheduling, it also contains features that limit WFB. For example, regardless of whether individuals work full- or part-time hours, self-employment generally requires greater time commitment than paid work (Arai, 2000: 137). In addition, self-employed workers encounter higher levels of work-related stress (Jamal, 1997: 52), which has been negatively related to WFB (Perry-Jenkins & Repetti, 2000: 985; Crouter, Bumpus, Maguire & McHale, 1999: 1455; Hobson, Delunas & Kesic, 2001: 38). While the time commitment is greater, so is the flexibility in scheduling work, offering at least the opportunity to improve WFB (Arai, 2000; 137). Thus essential features of self-employment have been found to act in contradictory ways in research examining the WFB efforts of employees.

A fourth, and critical, reason for studying work and family balance among self-employed workers is that Canadian research indicates that balancing work and family may be one of the most salient reasons that women enter into self-employment. Although both men and women pursue entrepreneurial values when entering self-employment (such as being one's own boss, gaining control over decision making, and pursuing challenging work), women are more likely than men to cite 'flexibility of schedule' 'the ability to work from home' and 'balance of work and family' as factors motivating them to enter self-employment (Statistics Canada, 1995, Human Resources Development Canada, 2002: 27).

Overall, as indicated in Table 1 below, almost 37% of Canadians enter self-employment because they enjoy the independence that this work relationship offers, and this is the most

common motivation to enter self-employment. This table summarizes results gathered by HRDC's Survey of Self-Employment in Canada, in response to the question, "What is the main reason you became self-employed instead of working for an employer?" In these results, women are less likely than men to cite 'independence' as a factor contributing to their decision to enter self-employment (24% vs. 42%), and more likely to cite 'flexible hours' and 'work/family balance' as their primary entry motivations. Earlier national data also indicated that women were more likely than men to cite 'the ability to work from home' as a primary motivation for entering self-employment (Statistics Canada, 1995). When comparing reasons for entering self-employment, family related issues are much more salient for women than for men, and gendered differences for entering self-employment are largest within the independence and family related categories.

Table 1: Main Reason for Becoming Self-Employed, Canada, 2002.

Main Reason for Becoming Self-Employed	All Self-Employed	Men	Women
Independence, freedom, own-boss	36.3%	42.1%	24.0%
Control, responsibility, decision-making	7.4%	8.7%	4.6%
Challenge, creativity, success, satisfaction	9.8%	9.7%	10.1%
Flexible hours	6.9%	5.3%	10.3%
Balance of work and family	5.4%	1.7%	13.2%
More money, unlimited income	7.5%	8.6%	5.2%
Nature of job	6.4%	5.8%	7.8%
Joined or took over family business	9.3%	9.5%	8.8%
Total	89%	91.4%	84%

Source: Results from the Survey of Self-Employment in Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, 2002.

This table raises some important questions about the ability of self-report surveys to distinguish between important concepts, or in how those results are presented. For example, it is unclear in the table how researchers and respondents distinguish between concepts of independence and control, or whether there is a difference between having control and having responsibility. As reported in the table, response categories are double- (and sometimes triple-) barrelled, making it difficult to assess respondents' true entry motivations. There is ample room to improve on this type of questioning and reporting and to provide more nuanced representations of the motivations of individuals entering this work arrangement Hughes, forthcoming: 22).

Despite these methodological limitations, the table does provide some interesting information about entry motivations. Given the gender-based differences in entry motivations, and the fact that the presence of young children in the home is significantly positively related to female, but not male, self-employment, researchers in this field have concluded that that women seek self-employment for 'family reasons' (Akyeampong & Usalcas, 1997: 62). But investigation into the ability of women to balance self-employment and family obligations generally ends with statements about why they choose to enter this work relationship, and rarely seek to determine what happens to these women once they have become self-employed. Researchers seem to conclude that women choose self-employment in order to balance work and family, and that once they enter self-employment they are able to achieve that balance - but there is little evidence of either their success or failure, or the mechanisms through which this is achieved.

A final reason for focusing on self-employed workers is that the nature of their work and their working conditions differs in critical ways from more traditional employer/employee relationships. Based on a review of existing literature and my own experience interviewing self-employed women for a related study (Hughes, 1999; Hughes, forthcoming), one of the most centrally distinguishing factors of self-employment (compared to employment status) is the perception that it allows relatively more autonomy or control over work (Lowe, Schellenberg & Davidman: 1999: 8). This perception provides a link to existing research on WFB, because higher perceived levels of control over work decrease work-related stress, thus contributing to WFB (Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 796). In addition, 'control' within the work process may manifest in a number of different ways that could contribute to, or alternatively hinder WFB. For example, self-employed workers may (or may not) be able to control, or make decisions about, the location of work, the scheduling of work, and the amount of work they choose to complete – and these features of the work process may differentially impact on efforts to balance work and family.

The purpose of this Chapter was to examine how the Canadian social context, particularly in terms to changes in work and family forms, has made work-family combination a significant challenge for Canadian working families. Increasing female labour force participation, particularly among mothers of young children; the polarization of working hours, and the shifting gender composition of occupations all represent substantial changes to the way Canadians have participated in the labour force over the last 50 years. Family life has also changed, through the

increase in dual-income and lone-parent families, as well as by general population aging. Despite these changes governments, employers, and our traditionally gendered relationship between family and work have remained relatively unresponsive. While employers have introduced a number of alternative work arrangements that offer some potential to facilitate effective work-family combination, they remain limited by inadequate and sporadic implementation. Similarly, significant numbers of working parents remain ineligible for relevant government programs.

Despite a clear pattern of difficulty in managing work and family demands, and ongoing research examining this issue, we have been unable to adequately solve the puzzle of effective WFB. I have argued that examining WFB among self-employed women will provide us with additional tools for resolving this issue. Throughout this discussion I have concentrated on relevant Canadian data, but will expand my focus in the next Chapter, when I review the academic literature framing the work/family debate.

CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW: WORK-FAMILY

While the preceding Chapter described the Canadian *social* context related to WFB for self-employed women, the following literature review highlights important advances in the WFB literature as well as opportunities for further research, providing the *academic* context for the present study. Chapter two examined how changes in the Canadian social context have made WFB more difficult over time and how governments, employers, and individuals have reacted to these changes. WFB affects working families around the world, and there is substantial academic interest in this topic. In order to simplify this broad and extensive literature, I develop the review over two separate Chapters. The current chapter reviews the general work/family literature, with particular emphasis on the predominant position of role theory in WFB research, and researchers' focus on negative outcome measures. Individual sections of this chapter contribute to the analytical framework introduced at the beginning of Chapter two by examining the impact of individual, family, and workplace characteristics on work-family combination. This Chapter identifies that because researchers have focused most of their attention on negative outcome measures, there is substantial opportunity to address how individuals can develop strategies for more effective work-family combination and to answer research questions about *how* individuals balance their work and family demands.

Chapter four continues the academic literature by focusing on work-family issues among self-employed workers. It also builds on the argument presented in Chapter two that self-employed workers offer a unique opportunity to examine proactive WFB strategies. One of the most salient reasons for focusing on self-employed workers is the fundamental role that flexibility and control play in both the work arrangement and in opportunities for WFB. I will develop this argument across the literature review in Chapters three and four.

This Chapter includes an overall survey of the work-family literature, identification of role theory as the primary theoretical focus of the literature, a discussion of the primary themes within this literature, and a review and critique of the prevalent outcome measures used in understanding work-family conflict. Despite its prevalence in the work/family literature, role theory, or its application within this area, has several limitations that in combination restrict its overall effectiveness in addressing WFB. The limitations of existing formulations and use of role theory offer an opportunity to examine WFB through an alternative theoretical framework, which I introduced briefly in Chapter one and develop more fully throughout Chapter five. In addition to,

and perhaps because of, relying almost exclusively on role theory, many work-family researchers have focused their efforts on examining negative outcome measures. While many researchers examining work/family role combination label this process as 'work/family balance,' they rarely focus on 'balance'. Instead, researchers focus on negative outcome measures, highlighting the stresses and strains that result when individuals are unable to balance their social roles. While the concept 'balancing work and family' implies that individuals take an active role in developing strategies to combine work and family tasks, few researchers examine active balancing strategies. The limited focus on active balancing strategies offers an opportunity to shift the focus of research from passive reactions to role imbalance to proactive strategies that individuals can use to achieve balance (or more effectively combine) between work and family demands.

In terms of primary themes within the work-family literature, researchers have examined how individual, family, and work-related characteristics can contribute to and moderate a number of (mostly negative) work/family outcome measures. Individual characteristics prominent within the WFB literature are gender and occupation. Prominent family-related characteristics include family type and life-cycle stage. Workplace related characteristics commonly examined in this literature include: time spent in paid work; social support from family and supervisors; scheduling and location flexibility; and perceived control over work. One of the most consistent findings in this literature is that 'flexibility' in the scheduling and location of work and 'control' over various components of the work process offer the greatest potential for alleviating or preventing negative work/family outcomes.

The prominence of 'flexibility' and 'control' within the WFB literature provide an important link between the general work/family literature and self-employment. Few researchers examine WFB among self-employed individuals, and yet 'flexibility' and 'control' are essential components of this work arrangement. With greater access to flexibility and control, self-employed individual have the potential to effectively balance their work and family demands, but researchers have not adequately examined this issue. This gap provides an opportunity to develop both the work/family and self-employment literatures by examining how self-employed individuals use the flexibility and control within their work arrangement to balance their work and family demands. Chapter five continues the overall literature review by focusing specifically on the WFB efforts of self-employed workers.

Balancing Work and Family: Role Theory and Work-Family Conflict

At its broadest level, this study fits within the general category of 'work and family' research (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000: 981). In a multi-disciplinary review of work/family research, Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter identified four themes dominating the work/family literature over the last decade (2000: 981). These themes include: the impact of maternal employment on children's well-being; the transfer of socialized values and behaviour from work to home; the impact of work-related stress on family functioning and individual well-being; and the multiple roles literature, which examines individual efforts to balance social roles such as parent, spouse, and worker (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000: 981). WFB research is situated within the Multiple Roles literature, as researchers generally consider individuals as trying to balance work and family *roles*, and it is the work/family role literature that is the focus of this literature review.

WFB research is based on the idea that we must balance our time and resources in order to complete all the tasks that our various social roles require of us. Within the role-theory approach to WFB, identifying the types of roles that we fill, as well as the characteristics and demands of those roles is an essential component of understanding the balance between work and family obligations (Milkie & Peltola, 1999: 477).

Role theory essentially rests on five core points (summarized by Connell, 1987: 47):

1. the theory makes a distinction between *individual people* and the *social positions* they occupy.
2. society, or a relevant reference group, assigns a set of acceptable *role behaviours* to a social position.
3. *role expectations* or norms outline the behaviours/attitudes that are appropriate to a given social position.
4. *role expectations* are held by people occupying other social roles (*counter-positions*)
5. individuals in *counter-positions* reinforce role expectations and socially acceptable behaviour through rewards and punishments, or positive/negative sanctions.

Role theory is a theory of socialization, which holds that members of a society are rewarded for fulfilling socially-acceptable sets of behaviours (roles), and sanctioned for acting outside of those constraints.

Role-theory researchers have identified a number of models explaining our ability to combine social roles. The *'role scarcity'* or *'resource drain'* model suggests that people do not have enough time or energy to fulfil competing role obligations (Danes, 1998: 403; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000: 181). Because our resources are finite, we must spend resources meeting the demands of one role at the expense of unmet demands in other roles. This model suggests that the more roles we accumulate, the greater the probability of "exhausting one's supply of time and energy and of confronting conflicting obligations" (Danes, 1998: 403). In direct contrast, the *'role enhancement'* model suggests that even though we may not be able to meet all of our demands, multiple role involvement can generate, rather than exhaust, energy (Danes, 1998: 403). This model suggests that people will find the energy they need to fulfil demands in roles to which they feel highly committed, and that they often feel more energetic after competing their activities. Danes (1998: 403) has suggested that rather then being two separate models, these descriptions (role scarcity and role enhancement) actually fit on a continuum of responses to multiple roles.

In addition to models describing the interrelationship of social roles, there are a number of models outlining more specifically how we combine work and family roles. The *'separate sphere'* or *'segmentation'* model regards work and family as naturally and biologically determined separate spheres (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000: 181; Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 795). In this view, the nuclear family with stay-at-home mom and bread-winner father represents the most efficient family form. This is a functionalist model, in which gender inequality and the gendered division of labour are inevitable and necessary to maintain social stability. As separate spheres, work and family have limited potential to impact on one another (Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 795-796).

The *'spillover effects'* model recognizes the potential for work and family roles to affect each other, suggesting that home and work are not truly separate, even though they may not share physical and temporal space. Researchers using this approach focus on the spillover of affect/emotions, values, skills, and behaviours (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000: 180). Skrypnek & Fast (1996: 796) suggest that the prominent focus of this model has been examining the unidirectional (particularly negative) effects of work on family. Theorists utilizing this approach suggest that negative spillover results from poor management of the two social roles and can be reduced by more effectively negotiating the movement between the two spheres (Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 796).

The *'interactive effects'* model recognizes the potential for more interaction between the roles, with both work and family impacting on one another. The social roles are so closely

connected that actions in the work sphere inevitably have implications for the family and vice versa - and the implications need not be negative. The idea that an individual can achieve WFB assumes that the two spheres are intimately connected and can be fine-tuned for optimal efficiency (Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 796).

Prevalent outcome measures

The Work/Family Roles literature incorporates a number of distinct measures of role combination, including role conflict, role overload, role spillover, and role interference. This section provides an overview of these various measures. The role scarcity model dominates the work/family roles literature, and relies on an "almost exclusive" focus on the negative repercussions of ineffective role combination (Barnett, 1998: 125; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000: 111). While collecting information regarding social context, such as family composition, most researchers focus on individuals when collecting and analyzing data, rather than on families or couples (Barnett, 1998: 125). Common outcome measures in this literature include role conflict, role overload, role spillover, and role interference. *Work-family role conflict* reflects a "mutual incompatibility between the demands of the work role and the demands of the family role" (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997: 3). Role conflict can result from time constraints, from interference between work and family roles, and from incompatibility between behaviours expected in the different social roles (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997: 4).

Role overload occurs when the "total demands on time and energy associated with the prescribed activities of multiple roles are too great to perform the roles adequately or comfortably" (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 2). *Role spillover* refers to the "extent to which participation in one domain impacts participation in another domain" (Grzywacz, Almeida, & McDonald, 2002: 28), and is similar conceptually to *role interference* in which demands in one role make it difficult to fulfil demands in a competing role (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 2). *Role interference* occurs when the expectations of one role impact upon the duties that must be carried out in a separate social role. A parent who is called out of a meeting at work to pick up a sick child at school would experience role interference. Moreover, behavioural constraints requiring that behaviours appropriate in one role (such as expressiveness or emotional sensitivity within the family) be muted in other social situations (i.e. in the workplace) also contribute to role interference (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997: 4).

Both *spillover* and *interference* can occur from family to work or from work to family, however, while *interference* is essentially negative, *spillover* can be either negative, or positive (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 2; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000: 112). In addition to documenting divergent types on ineffective role combination, researchers also often extend their analysis to capture negative responses to role incompatibility, with a particular emphasis on stress or distress (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001; Eagle, Icenogle, Maes & Miles, 1998; Home, 1997; Tingey & Kiger, 1996; Voydanoff, 1999).

While more limited in scope, there are also some positive measures of work/family role combination, reflecting work/family balance (WFB) as opposed to work/family conflict. As with work/family conflict, researchers have developed distinct conceptualizations of WFB, including "a sense that there is harmony among the various roles in (work and family) spheres" (Milkie & Peltola, 1999: 478) and "the tendency to become fully engaged in the performance of every role in one's total role system" (Marks & MacDermid, 1996:421). While Milkie & Peltola suggests that balance incorporates some measure of positive integration of roles, Marks & MacDermid's definition emphasizes role involvement rather than role integration.

In some cases, researchers claim to examine 'work/family balance,' but neither conceptualise 'balance' nor incorporate it into the research as an outcome measure. In other words, while they purport to examine balance, they end up measuring conflict. The following excerpt from a recent Duxbury & Higgins (2001: 3) report provides an example:

> What is Work-Life Balance? We all play many roles: employee, boss, subordinate, spouse, parent, child, sibling, friend, and community member. Each of these roles imposes demands on us that require time, energy and commitment to fulfil. Work-family or work-life conflict occurs when the cumulative demands of these many work and non-work roles are incompatible in some respect so that participation in one role is made more difficult by participation in another role.

The authors' definition of "Work-Life Balance" actually refers to conflict instead of balance. This approach is not unique, as Spain & Bianchi (1996) similarly offer no conceptualization of WFB in their book Balancing Act: Motherhood, Marriage, and Employment among American Women. Thus even studies that intend to study balance sometimes revert to more negative measures of role combination.

The preceding discussion outlined various concepts that researchers use to assess work-family role combination, and highlighted that researchers tend to focus on negative measures of

role combination. Becker and Moen (1998: 2) argue that this emphasis on negative outcome measures reveals a bias in the research framing work-family combination as a "problem" because it challenges more traditional values regarding appropriate male and female role fulfilment. Rather than accepting that work and family combination has become the norm for most parents, and searching for models of effective role combination, researchers instead seek to find evidence of the negative repercussions of combining these two life trajectories. In their search they have indeed found ample evidence of negative work and family outcomes. Interestingly, as knowledge of the work-family problem has spread, so have the groups affected by this problem, so that now individuals without spouses or children also claim to have high levels of work-family conflict (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: vii, 31). While this research focus has generated substantial amounts of information, it has been clearly biased in favour of discovering evidence of the negative repercussions of combining work and family roles. This leaves substantial room to contribute to the literature by documenting more proactive attempts to balance work and family demands.

The following sections summarize the impact of individual, family, and work-related variables on work-family outcomes, and highlight these as crucial components of the analytical framework of the dissertation research.

Conflict, balance, and demographic characteristics

The most common demographic variables associated with role strain are family type, life-cycle stage, and gender. Although a number of researchers have examined the relationship between role strain and *family type*, the findings in this area are inconsistent and contradictory. For example, while researchers initially found that single mothers were at highest risk of work/family strain (Burden, 1986; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985) more recent studies have found that this effect is diminished when race, age, income, and education are controlled (Home, 1997: 336). Duxbury & Higgins (1994: 457) found that single mothers and fathers did not experience any more role strain than married parents, but that dual-earner couples experience more work/family strain than working individuals in single-earner couples. While Eagle, Icenogle, Maes, & Miles (1998: 700) replicated Duxbury & Higgins (1994) finding of higher levels of strain among dual-earner couples, they found the highest reported levels of strain among single-earner, divorced parents. Eagle et. al. found that the presence of children increases role strain through a time-based, family-to-work interference measure, concluding that both mothers and fathers have less time to devote to work

(1998:700). Home (1997: 341) found that women in families with three or more children experienced lower levels of work/family strain than women with smaller families, concluding that older children could assist their mothers in providing care for younger children. Home's conclusions conflict with earlier results of Keith & Schafer (1980: 486), who found higher work/family conflict in larger families, and Stoner, Hartman, & Arora (1990: 36) who found no relationship between work/family strain and number of children.

Researchers have provided some evidence that role strain varies over the life-cycle. Work/family conflict increases particularly as individual obligations expand with the arrival of children (Higgins & Duxbury, 1994: 145). Children's' ages affect maternal more than paternal role strain, with highest role strain occurring for women in families with children under 13 years (Higgins & Duxbury, 1994: 148; Home, 1997: 347). Once children reach 13 years old, maternal role strain decreases to a level similar to paternal role strain (Higgins & Duxbury, 1994: 148). More precisely, family-to-work conflict begins to increase for both men and women at the birth of their first child and peaks when they have at least one child in their teens (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 33). Conversely, work-to-family conflict and role overload do not appear to be associated with life-cycle stage (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 33). Grzywacz & Marks found that men with children less than five years old reported more positive spillover from work to family than men without children, and that having a child of any age is associated with more negative spillover from family to work for both women and men.

Role strain also varies by gender, although a number of recent studies have documented diminished differences between men and women regarding perceived levels of work/family role strain. Distinguishing between role overload and role conflict, Barnett and Baruch (1985) and Crosby (1991) established that employed mothers frequently feel vulnerable to stress resulting from a "general sense of having so many role demands or obligations that they feel unable to perform them all adequately" (Erdwins, 2001: 230). In a gendered comparison of role strain based on family type, Duxbury & Higgins (1994: 455) found that women spent more total time on work and family activities, and experienced higher levels of work/family conflict, as well as higher levels of both family-to-work and work-to-family interference than men. However, Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, & Weitzman (2001: 52) found no measurable gender-based difference in perceived role strain in a representative sample of American IBM workers. Milkie & Peltola (1999: 480) found no gender-based difference among respondents to the 1996 General Social Survey, except for full-time

mothers of young children, who had significantly higher levels of role strain. Grzywacz & Marks (2000: 117) found no difference between men and women in terms of negative spillover (from family to work and from work to family), but found that women reported higher levels of positive spillover from work to family than men. While research identifies that both men and women experience some conflict between their work and family roles, women, and mothers in particular, consistently report the most negative effects.

Role strain and features of the work environment

Researchers also have examined the relationship between role strain and features of the work environment. Three features of the work environment dominate the role strain literature: time spent in paid work, scheduling and location flexibility, and perceived control over work (Barnett, 1998; Bailyn, Drago & Kochan, 2002; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001). In terms of time spent in paid work, although researchers initially hypothesized that role strain would increase with increasing work hours, the data has been contradictory. Major & Klein (2000: 4) found a direct, positive impact of time spent at work on work to family interference, and found that the relationship did not vary by gender. Frederick & Fast (2001: 9) found that both men and women who reported a balance between work and family roles spent fewer hours on paid work and housework combined, than those who felt unbalanced. In contrast, for married mothers of preschool children, or those with three or more children, part-time work has no appreciable impact on work/family role strain (Barnett, 1998: 129). Important to note however, is that fewer hours of work are often associated with part-time work, which typically offers lower hourly pay, fewer benefits, and fewer opportunities for advancement than full-time work (Bailyn et. al., 2002: 20; Barnett, 1998: 129). Barnett (1998: 129) indicates that there is a bipolar relationship between work hours and role strain, with both limited and excessive work hours contributing to role strain. When part-time work is associated with decreased levels of role strain, it may be due to scheduling flexibility rather than time spent working – although there is substantial variation within part-time work in terms of flexibility of work schedules (Bailyn et. Al., 2002: 20; Barnett, 1998: 129).

Organizations attempting to improve competitiveness through innovative workplace redesign often indirectly facilitate WFB by incorporating flexibility and perceived control into the work process (Bailyn et. al, 2002: 22; Osterman, 1995: 693). Essentially, workplaces that incorporate "autonomy, flexibility, learning opportunities and supervisory support" have positive

impacts on commitment, loyalty, performance and retention as well as both personal and job satisfaction, which in turn facilitate WFB (Bailyn et. al, 2002: 22). Numerous researchers have established that inflexible work schedules contribute to role strain, particularly in terms of work-to-family conflict (Eagle et. al. 1998: 692). Galinsky & Johnson (1998: 9) found that employees with flex-time schedules were "more satisfied with their jobs, more likely to want to remain on the job, and showed more initiative" than workers with no access to these schedules. Supportive managers are a crucial element in the link between flexible schedules and WFB, as they often act as gatekeepers between official policy and employees hoping to gain flexible work arrangements (Hochschildild, 1997).

In addition to flexible scheduling, or 'flex-time', some organizations also provide 'flex-place' arrangements, allowing workers to exercise some degree of control over where they work (Hill et. al., 2001: 50). Supervisors are less likely to utilize flex-place than flex-time arrangements, as many managers feel that this adversely impacts on teamwork, and that face-to-face supervision is an integral component of employee evaluation (Hill et. al., 2001: 50). For employees, flex-place arrangements result in "greater productivity, the perception of improved morale, and better work-family balance" (Hill, Miller, Weiner, & Colihan, 1998: 681). Women who work a majority of their paid work hours in the home also spend more time doing housework, a factor that Duncan has related to decreased levels of work/family conflict (1999: 48-49). Hill et. al. (2001: 52) found that both flex-time and flex-place arrangements had positive impacts on WFB, concluding that "given a workweek of reasonable length, employees who perceive flexibility in the timing and location of work have less difficulty with WFB" than those who do not perceive that flexibility.

Although scheduling flexibility can decrease work-family conflict, it will have limited effectiveness unless employees are able to exert some level of control over that work time. Tremblay (2001:124) argues that restructuring or reducing work time can decrease work-family conflict when workers are able to choose working hours based on their own "needs and preferences." Flexible working hours alone are not enough to facilitate WFB. Employee control over scheduling flexibility is also a crucial component in this relationship, because flexible schedules imposed by employers can be a significant source of work-family conflict (Tremblay, 2001: 123).

In addition to decreasing work-family conflict through flexibility, perceived control in the workplace and in the family has a direct impact on work/family conflict (Bailyn et. Al. 2002: 23:

Bullers, 1999: 186; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 62; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 796). Duxbury & Higgins (2001: 62) argue that perceived control ("the more control employees feel they have over their lives") is the "key to work and family balance" as it is directly and positively increases work family balance (through proxy inverse measures of role overload and bi-directional work to family interference). Measuring perceived control over a broader context (personal influence in life rather than in a work setting), Bullers (1999: 186) argued that perceived control positively impacts on job satisfaction, and found that for women, employment and marriage increase perceived control while motherhood decreases perceived control. In early research testing the relationship between perceived control over work and work/family conflict, Pleck, Staines & Lang (1980: 31) found that employees with low levels of control over their ability to refuse overtime, take time off for personal matters, or change their work schedules experienced significantly higher levels of work/family conflict than employees who had control over those features of their work environment.

More recent research has confirmed that individuals with low perceived levels of control experience higher levels of work/family conflict as measured by role overload, interference from work to family, and interference from family to work (Duxbury & Higgins, 1994: 456; 2001: 62). As perceived control over work and life increase, the possibility for positive WFB outcomes also increases. Work and personal characteristics that enhance perceived control include childlessness; being male; and for women being employed, particularly full-time; in professional (rather than non-professional) occupations that incorporate non-routine work with substantial task variety, and opportunities for problem-solving (Bullers, 1999: 186; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 62; Ross & Wright, 1998: 342).

To sum up, organizational factors commonly influencing WFB include time spent in paid work, flexibility within the work process, and perceived control over work. The impact of time in paid work on WFB varies substantially, with both limited and excessive hours affecting WFB. The impact of limited hours on WFB is partially related to the limited flexibility and control of part-time workers. Increased levels of perceived control over work generally decrease work-family conflict. Flexibility offers potential for facilitating WFB, but only when employees have some control over that flexibility. The relationship between flexibility and control highlights the overlap across these components of work, complicating their direct relationships with WFB. When employers set flexible schedules that do not incorporate employee preferences, flexibility can actually decrease WFB.

Moderating role strain

Although the bulk of the role strain literature has focused on characteristics associated with increasing role strain, some researchers have examined factors associated with alleviating role strain, in terms of personal and workplace characteristics (including flexibility and perceived control as discussed earlier), and in strategies that individuals can use to improve role combination. In terms of personal characteristics, Erdwins (2001: 234) found that for women, a sense of self-efficacy in both the work and parental roles can be an effective antidote to role strain, with efficacy in the parental role having the strongest effect. Using a logistic regression model, Frederick & Fast (2001: 11) found that both women and men who enjoyed their paid work were more likely to be satisfied with the balance between their work and family roles. Rather than suggesting that WFB can make work more enjoyable, the researchers claim that finding work enjoyable facilitates WFB. They claim "both women and men who enjoy (work) were over twice as likely to be satisfied with the balance between their job and family demands" (2001: 10).

For paid employees, researchers have identified a number of features of the work environment that can alleviate role strain, with particular emphasis on family-friendly organizational cultures, supportive supervisors, and family-oriented benefits (Warren & Johnson, 1995: 163). Organizational culture refers to the philosophy or belief system within an organization (Warren & Johnson, 1995: 163). Family-friendly organizational cultures are crucial in helping employees balance work and family, as even when organizations have family-friendly policies in place, front-line supervisors must be willing to implement them, a decision that has been closely related to the existence of supportive cultures (Hill et. al. 2001: 50; Hochschildild, 1997; Milliken, Martins & Morgan, 1998: 598-590; Solomon, 1999: 55). Warren & Johnson (1995: 167) found that as employee perceptions of family-supportive culture and level of supervisor support for work/family integration increased, their level of perceived work/family strain decreased. In addition to support from supervisors, co-worker and family support can also be beneficial. Both men and women who feel that their spouses, supervisors, and co-workers are supportive of their efforts to balance work and family have lower levels of role strain than those in unsupportive relationships (Barnett, 1994: 652).

The use of family-oriented work-place benefits also alleviates role strain, particularly those benefits that allow workers to take unpaid time away from work to attend to family emergencies and to use personal sick days to care for sick children (Warren & Johnson, 1995: 167).

Researchers have documented that taking time off for sick children increases worker productivity, indicating that these benefits can have positive outcomes for workers in terms of decreased work/family conflicts, and for organizations in terms of bottom-line profitability (Meyer, Mukerjee & Sestero, 2001: 36). Being able to obtain adequate childcare also is beneficial. For women, satisfaction with their childcare arrangements decreases overall work/family role strain (Erdwins, 2001: 235).

Role Enhancement – the beneficial effects of balancing multiple roles

In contrast with the focus on negative role strain that dominated the work family literature until the mid-1990s, a growing number of studies are examining the beneficial outcomes of combining multiple social roles, or 'role enhancement,' and are focusing on role balance, as opposed to role strain (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000: 988). While the role strain literature focused on feelings of overload and energy depletion resulting from efforts to meet the objective features of competing social roles (such as demographic variables or workplace structure and organization), the role enhancement literature shifts the focus to individuals' commitment to their social roles, arguing that conflict occurs when individuals are under- or over-committed to one role relative to another (Marks, 1977; O'Neil & Greenberger, 1994: 101).

In a gendered analysis linking various patterns of commitment to work and parental roles with role strain, O'Neil & Greenberger (1994: 102) found that while men with low commitment to work and high commitment to family had significantly lower levels of role strain than other groups, women's patterns of commitment to work and parenting were unrelated to role strain, except for in cases where those women worked in professional/managerial jobs. They found that women in professional and managerial positions with high commitments to both work and family experienced less role strain than dual-committed women in lower status jobs. The researchers concluded that professional and managerial occupations allowed women "more flexibility (personal control)" over work scheduling, creating leeway for mothers to meet family demands (1994: 102).

Danes (1998: 420) found that women with dense role sets (heavy commitments to four different social roles) perceived larger discrepancies between work and leisure, and had lower levels of satisfaction with life overall, than those with lower role commitments, failing to show support for the enhancing effects of combining multiple roles. Milkie & Peltola (1999: 481) found that while happier marriages, and for men, more hours in paid work, increased WFB, the presence

of children was unrelated to, and perceived unfairness in the distribution of household labour decreased WFB. Moreover they found that for women, but not men, combining full-time employment and young children decreases WFB (1999: 482). While combining full-time employment with work was difficult, marital satisfaction offset this effect, so the study offered ambiguous support for the enhancing effects of multiple role involvements.

Summarizing the main points of the two preceding sections, a number of factors that can either decrease role strain or increase role balance. While focusing on the negative view that role combination creates role strain, researchers found that self-efficacy; enjoyment of paid work; supportive family members, spouses, supervisors, and organizational cultures; and adequate childcare arrangements can decrease role strain. Shifting to a more positive focus, multiple-role theorists have attempted to establish the benefits of combining social roles, but their results have been somewhat ambiguous.

The multiple-role literature is less developed than the role-strain literature and there is ample room to explore these relationships in more depth. O'Neil & Greenberger's (1994: 102) suggestion that professional and managerial women gain access to balanced roles through flexibility and control bolsters the argument that self-employed women (with potentially greater access to flexibility and control) provide an important opportunity to expand the WFB literature. In addition to offering the potential of increased flexibility and control over the work process, self-employment also requires a great deal of commitment to work in terms of time and energy. This provides a further thematic overlap with the multiple-roles literature, and points to the possibility of facilitated WFB among self-employed women, a possibility that work-family researchers have not yet adequately addressed. Rather than focusing on the socially-constructed obligations of social roles, and negative responses to inadequate role-fulfilment however, this study utilizes an alternative theoretical framework that acknowledges both freedom and constraint within social domains. This framework makes it possible to move beyond the idea that individuals do their best to fulfil often-incompatible role requirements to examine how they create strategies to overcome socially constructed barriers to effective work-family combination.

Adaptive Strategies

In addition to relating particular characteristics of individuals, their family members, and their work environments to diminished role strain, a limited number of researchers have identified s

series of coping strategies that individuals use to decrease role strain, or diminish the negative effects of role strain. The bulk of the work/family role literature focuses on identifying characteristics associated with role strain. The implication of this body of research is that people who have particular characteristics are essentially destined to encounter difficulty fulfilling competing role demands.

This research emphasis, and role theory itself through its emphasis on meeting socially prescribed role demands, essentially places individuals in a passive stance vis-à-vis role conflict. Research that documents the types of adjustments that individuals make in order to alleviate role conflict highlights a more active role for individuals, acknowledging active agency on behalf of individuals in trying to meet competing demands.

Using American General Social Survey data, Milkie & Peltola (1999: 485) found among employed married individuals (with minimal gender differences) that 17% turned down job promotions, 30% refused overtime, and 32% cut back on paid work in order to meet family demands. In addition to documenting work/family strategies, Milkie & Peltola (1999: 476, 480) also examined gendered differences in the "subjective sense of success in balancing" work and family demands, finding no difference between men and women. They found that for women, marital unhappiness and sacrifices made at home to meet work demands both diminished work and family balance, as did the presence of young children (1999: 476). For men, longer work hours and more time spent doing housework both diminished subjective ratings of success in WFB (1999: 476).

While earlier research identified attitudes and behaviours associated with lack of balance, the Milkie & Peltola study identified attitudes and behaviours associated with achieving that balance. However, by relying on responses to predetermined categories, the General Social Survey did not allow respondents to add integral contextual information or more personal, individualistic interpretations of balance in their own lives. Establishing that the presence of young children diminishes work and family balance does little to expand our knowledge of balance, because it does not provide information regarding *how*, and under what circumstances small children inhibit balance.

Duxbury & Higgins (2001: 63) found that respondents used a number of strategies in order to "cope with role overload and work to family interference," including leaving work at home undone, getting by on less sleep, cutting down on outside activities, buying goods and services (replacing domestic labour in the home), and engaging in various "negative coping behaviours"

including use of alcohol and drugs. While Duxbury & Higgins identify these behaviours as strategies, they also identify them as "*coping* strategies" (italics added). In other words they are essentially behaviours that individuals use in reaction to poor role balance, and emphasize a passive, rather than proactive role for individuals in seeking to improve role balance.

Moen & Yu (2000: 307) identify a series of "strategies" that married dual-earner couples use to "manage work/life pressures" in terms of employment configurations and domestic responsibility sharing. Examining combinations of full- and part-time work, occupational status, employment sector location, and perceptions of job priority, these researchers found that self-ratings of "life quality" are highest and "conflict, stress, and overload" are lowest in couples where both spouses work regular work weeks (thirty-nine to forty-four hours), or when one member works reduced hours (Moen & Yu, 2000: 301). In addition, having a spouse in a "high status and high income" job, while personally holding a low status job is associated with positive role outcomes for women, whereas high status jobs (regardless of wives' occupational status), are associated with negative role outcomes for men (Moen & Yu, 2000: 301).

Moen & Yu identify couples' combinations of working hours and occupations as strategies for meeting competing work and family demands, but rightfully acknowledge that occupational "choices" are often substantially constrained by structural factors beyond individual control. In other words it is quite possible that the employment combinations utilized by couples resulted not from the "choice" to adopt particular WFB strategies, but rather from selecting from a limited number of available employment options.

Luxton (1990: 42) identified three distinct strategies that employed, married women use to balance the demands of domestic work in the home, paid employment, and family responsibilities. Women using the "separate spheres and hierarchical relations" strategy managed work and family demands through a "strict gender-based division of labour" in the home, and an ideology that "women were to be subordinate to their husbands" (1990: 42). These women assumed full responsibility for all domestic work in the home, along with their own full-time employment. Women using the "separate spheres and co-operative relations" strategy believed that men and women had different social roles to fill, but that each person must pull "his or her own weight" (1990: 43). Women using this strategy also completed most or all of the domestic work in the home, but decreased their standards of domestic labour to ease their overall workload, and occasionally asked their husbands to "lend a hand." The final strategy incorporated "shared spheres and

changing relations," and included women who believed that wives and husbands were "partners who should share the responsibilities for financial support and domestic labour" (1990: 44). They enacted this strategy by pressuring their husbands and children to take on the responsibility for as well as engage in domestic labour.

These strategies represent unique combinations of attitudes and behaviours involved in balancing work and family demands, and in this regard offer a much more refined view of how individual women respond to work-family demands in clearly recognizable patterns. Among the other studies reviewed here, this approach to WFB strategies is particularly informative, and because Luxton built this model from in-depth, qualitative data, it allows for a more detailed and contextualized approach to understanding the daily negotiation of WFB.

While there are limitations in the research examining work/family strategies, this area offers an interesting departure from the overwhelming focus in the broader work/family literature on negative (and passive) responses to ineffective work/family role combination. The focus on passive reactions to ineffective role combination reflects the limited view of choice within role theory. As identified earlier in this Chapter, role theory essentially mandates that individuals are social actors who fill social roles, and are sanctioned by other social actors for inadequate or inappropriate role fulfilment. This leaves individuals with little opportunity to innovate beyond the confines of predetermined role obligations. While it seems reasonable within role theory that individuals would experience conflict when they are unable to effectively fill their roles, there is little room in the theory to predict or explain novel solutions or strategies in meeting role demands. Perhaps this is why few researchers have examined proactive work/family integration strategies, or why when they have, they have cast them as responsive or structurally constrained. There is thus room to contribute to the work/family literature by documenting active strategic responses to work/family conflict including the use of self-employment as an adaptive strategy to meet competing work and family demands. In order to do this we need to consider a theoretical framework that can incorporate individual agency in generating proactive strategies in pursuit of WFB. I will return to this issue again in Chapter five.

Summary of the Role-Theory Approach to Work/Family Balance

The preceding review of the work/family strain/balance literature outlined a number of themes in the role theory approach to understanding work and family combination. Within the broad spectrum of role theory, researchers have identified a range of models specifying how individuals combine multiple social roles. While earlier research focused on the negative effects of combining multiple roles (the role scarcity model), more recently researchers utilizing the role-enhancement perspective have emphasized the beneficial effects of multiple role involvement. Although findings have been somewhat ambiguous, researchers have documented demographic and structural factors that can enhance or inhibit role combination. In terms of demographic or individual characteristics, family type, life-cycle stage, and gender all impact on role balance. Although findings in this area have been somewhat inconsistent, being female, in a dual-income couple, working full-time, and having preschool children tend to inhibit role balance. In addition to identifying work-related and individual characteristics that make role balance difficult, researchers also have identified characteristics that can alleviate role strain. Feelings of self-efficacy, supportive work and family relationships, family-friendly corporate cultures, and the ability to take time off work to attend to family needs all alleviate strain or conflict arising from ineffective role combination.

In terms of workplace structure, working shorter or longer hours than preferred, in workplaces that do not allow for flexibility in terms of work location or schedule, and that do not foster perceptions of control over work tends to negatively affect role balance. There appears to be substantial overlap and some conceptual confusion regarding the individual impact of these work components on WFB. As indicated above, flexibility alone does not promote WFB unless workers also have some control over when and where they work. In addition, long hours spent in paid work will not decrease WFB for workers who have control and flexibility within their work arrangements.

Moreover researchers often apply different measures of 'control' in their analysis, making comparison between studies somewhat difficult. There is also some ambiguity between 'perceived control' and 'control', and between 'control over work' and control over other aspects of life, and how these different types of control impact on WFB. Developing more refined conceptual treatments of control offers an additional opportunity to add to the work-family literature.

Briefly, the work/family literature is both large and diverse, and role theory has played a substantial part in framing the discussion of work and family integration. Nonetheless, researchers

rarely expand the use of the theory beyond generating lists of characteristics that contribute to (and sometimes alleviate) role strain. A number of researchers have begun to question the dominance and even utility of this theory as a comprehensive means of understanding work and family combination (Barnett, 1998; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Grzywacz, Almeida & McDonald, 2002; Moen & Yu, 2000). The following sections identify limitations both in the general formulation and use of role theory, and in its application to the work-family literature.

Limitations of Role Theory and its application to the Work/Family literature

As identified earlier in this Chapter, 'work/family balance' research generally implies examining the balance between social roles, and aligns most of the WFB literature with role theory. Role theory mandates that individuals are socialized over time to effectively fill socially constructed roles, and that they are encouraged to do this by other social actors. The theory posits that social roles exist, and that as social actors we live within the boundaries prescribed by those roles, with structure and action mutually reinforcing one another. In this self-enforcing loop of social structures and appropriate behaviours, there is limited room for innovation or adaptation to ineffective circumstances, as any action outside the purview of existing role behaviour is deviant and will necessarily be sanctioned by other social actors. Without accommodating innovation, however, it is very difficult to explain the recent and massive changes in North American labour force composition and traditional family forms. In order for role theory to account for changes at the aggregate level, as well as in addressing changes in individual approaches to balancing work and family demands over time, it must be able to recognize innovation within and among social role combination. After exploring the limitations of the current use of role theory in the work-family literature, I propose an alternate theoretical framework that recognizes the salience of social structures in shaping individual behaviour while allowing for agency in meeting and combining social demands.

Situated within a functionalist perspective, the historical development of men's and women's social roles following the industrial revolution essentially channelled men into work-dominated instrumental roles and women into family-dominated domestic roles (Messner, 1998: 256). These roles worked reciprocally so that in tandem male-female partners (in breadwinner and homemaker roles) could fulfil the obligations of both work and family realms. The breadwinner and homemaker roles were both socially constructed and functional in meeting work and family

demands. While the combination of role theory and the functionalist perspective was able to explain adoption of the breadwinner and homemaker duality for the limited time during which this family form predominated, it has been less successful in explaining the swift and recent decline of the dominance of these social roles within North American culture. In the following sections I will identify several limitations of role theory generally as well as its utility in understanding work and family combination.

The limitations of role theory begin with its difficulty in adequately establishing dominance of social structure over individual agency in determining social behaviour (Connell, 1987: 49). In other words, the theory argues that individual behaviour is socially structured via role scripts, and is not able to effectively explain innovation beyond those roles. Role theory links individual behaviour to social structure by suggesting that social actors and institutions, through rewards and punishments, guide or limit our individual role performance. The theory thus identifies a social structural source for individual action. However, the theory is unable to establish a structural motivation for social actors and institutions in applying sanctions to individual behaviour, as actors and institutions essentially choose whether or not to apply sanctions, so that the theory essentially "dissolves into voluntarism" (Connell, 1987: 50). Further they offer no explanation for individuals' ability to "shape both their own lives and their own ideas" (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993: 165). In addition the theory offers no explanation (other than vague references to society's values) for the generation of social roles.

Reskin & Padavic (1994) situate this broader critique into a discussion of gendered occupational fulfilment, and suggest that although socialization does impact on social actors, these actors do not rely exclusively on social roles to guide their behaviour. The authors contend "women, like men, choose among the best opportunities open to them. Women do make choices, but employers and society limit their choices to a narrower range of options than men have" (1994: 77). They argue that necessity rather than socialization is the most likely cause of women's choices in the labour market (Reskin & Padavic, 1994: 77). Role theorists would argue that women take employment in female job ghettos because they have been prepared for these roles through socialization. Reskin & Padavic (1994: 78) counter this by pointing out that "when employers make customarily male jobs available to women, women usually flock to them." Examples include American worker shortages during WWII during which women were hired to work in munitions factories and to fly airplanes through combat zones delivering supplies to the front lines (Reskin &

Padavic, 1994: 50-51). The basic argument here is that people rarely will apply for jobs unless they have some reason to hope that they will be hired. The illusion that women want 'women's jobs' is more likely a reflection of the reality that employers historically have not allowed them realistic alternatives.

A further critique of role theory centers on the mismatch between idealized social roles and social reality. In other words, ideas about the content and form of particular roles often contradict social reality. While the socially acceptable 'idea' of the family consists of two married heterosexual parents with two children and pets, this model does not match the reality of a majority of families (Connell, 1987: 50). Connell (1987: 50) suggests that if we compare what is normative with actual social reality we find numerous cases where social expectations and social reality do not match, suggesting that social norms evolve not out of social reality but rather from the principles held by "holders of social power," emphasizing the functionalist roots of the theory.

Taking this critique one step further, Armstrong and Armstrong (1993:165) argue that role theorists make no attempt to discover who's interests are served by the existing behaviour patterns and the structures that reinforce or alter them. This limitation is particularly intriguing when we acknowledge that while role theorists will refer to male and female role sets and behaviours in analyzing social inequality, they do not similarly explain behaviour in terms of 'class roles' or 'race roles' (Messner, 1998: 257). Messner (1998: 257) suggests that while we might attribute social behaviour to race or class identities, "we do so within the context of an understanding of the historical dynamics of race and class relations" that we do not similarly acknowledge within gender roles. The central focus of sex roles in role theory highlights that role theorists have relied on biological sex as the crucial distinguishing feature between men and women, relegating the essential cause of social behaviour to immutable biological characteristics (Connell, 1987: 55).

Feminist critiques of role theory highlight that the neutral language of role theory implies a false symmetry between male and female roles, while masking the oppressive relationship between men and women (Messner, 1998: 257). For example, the 'mutually supportive' roles of breadwinner and homemaker relegate all female activities to the private sphere of the home, devaluing those activities in relation to public market work. This has led to an overwhelming underestimation of the value of work in the home as a driver of the economy through the social reproduction of the workers that fuel economic growth (Luxton, 1998: 58).

In keeping with the structural/functionalist paradigm, role theory also is an essentially static theory, perpetuating the status quo rather than accommodating social change. In other words, if we always met the expectations of our social roles and perpetuated those to others, then the content and form of the roles would remain the same over time. Clearly this has not been the case, particularly in terms of the content and form of gender roles within work and family domains, and this overwhelming change in role fulfilment is internally inconsistent within role theory. One of the most salient drivers of the work/family conflict literature has been the impact of the change in form and content of the female role from the "homemaker mother" to the "career women" – if indeed the homemaker role ever reflected social reality for a majority of women. Again, role theory predicts that individuals will fulfil role obligations both because of internalised role expectations and support/sanctions from other social actors, and there is thus no adequate explanation for social change.

In summary, role theory has both played a dominant part in the development of the work-family literature, and drawn a substantial amount of criticism. While claiming to establish the social motivation for individual behaviour, the theory essentially relies on individualistic, voluntaristic application of sanctions. The theory relies on normative conceptions of the content of roles that do not reflect social reality, and do not account for resistance or social change, and when it does acknowledge social change it does so under the guise of status-quo maintenance, so that change begets stability. The theory reduces to the biological dichotomy between men and women, undermining its own claims to be a socially-driven theory of behaviour. Finally although it can explain some of the ways that society is reproduced, it is essentially a static theory that cannot account for dynamic behaviour over time (Connell, 1987: 53; Messner, 1998: 257). These internal inconsistencies highlight the need for a theoretical framework that can account for agency and change in individuals and societies over time, while acknowledging that societies and social roles nonetheless influence individual behaviour.

The limitations of role theory in the work/family literature

In addition to problems with the fundamental principles of role theory in its general application, there also are limitations to role theory within the work/family literature. While acknowledging the central place of role theory in its various forms in the work/family literature, Clark (2000: 750) suggests that the various models were of limited utility because they "did not

adequately explain, predict and help solve problems" that individuals faced while trying to fulfil work and family obligations. The limited ability of researchers to explain and predict WFB outcomes fundamentally rests on the static nature of the theory itself. Role theory based work/family research emphasized passive, usually negative outcomes for individuals, and even when they sought WFB "strategies," these were also often reactive and structurally constrained. While researchers were able to establish features of environments and characteristics of individuals that were associated with role strain, the theory lacked predictive power, so that the WFB literature essentially distilled into lists of characteristics and could not adequately explain how individuals could act to modify role strain.

A crucial limitation of role theory research in the work/family literature is the limited focus on the emotional implications of ineffective role combination. Moreover, the literature is characterized by an emphasis on the *negative outcomes* of combining work and family roles (Barnett, 1998: 126). In a review of developments in the work/family literature over the last decade, Barnett concluded that work/family researchers overwhelmingly emphasize the negative repercussions of combining work and family life, with an "almost exclusive focus on conflict both at the individual and corporate level" (Barnett, 1998: 126). Because of the emphasis on measuring outcomes that are negative, there has been a concomitant neglect of both *positive* outcome measures as well as a neglect of the proactive strategies that individuals can use to alleviate negative outcomes (or to *balance* work and family demands). In other words, researchers have cast individuals combining work and family roles as the passive victims of inevitable stress and conflict, often ignoring both the potentially beneficial results of this combination, and the efforts that individuals make in order to facilitate work and family combination. Rather than being a critique of the theory itself, this represents a critique of the dominant application of the theory in work-family research.

Not all researchers focus on negative work/family outcomes however, as indicated both by the growth of the role enhancement model, and the identification of work/family strategies. The role enhancement literature comes closest to examining positive role balance (as opposed to negative role conflict), and it is within this model that Milkie & Peltola (1999) compared subjective ratings of success in balancing work and family demands. Within this more positive approach to studying WFB, a larger portion of the research focus has been on the beneficial results of multiple role combination, rather than on the strategies that individuals use to combine work and family

demands. So while the movement toward capturing the positive implications of work and family combination promises to provide a new perspective to the literature, there is still room to apply proactive theoretical models to explore individual agency in pursuit of effective work/family combination through the generation of adaptive work/family strategies. There is also room to use a qualitative methodological approach to explore how individuals attempting to meet or balance competing work and family demands define and evaluate WFB in their own terms. The emphasis on conflict has left much of the landscape of balance unexplored, particularly in terms of how individuals define and achieve WFB in their own lives.

Casting individuals in a passive, reactive stance in terms of role conflict is actually quite reflective of the situations of the employed individuals who held centre stage within the work/family literature. In other words, most employees have limited capacity to change the structure of their work environment and have little choice rather than to react to their circumstances. Individuals who have access to flexibility in the timing and scheduling of their work, as mediated through control or perceived control over their work environment report lower levels of role strain than individuals without these benefits. This suggests that given the choice and opportunity, individuals will act in some way to alleviate role strain. This overall finding further suggests that researching work arrangements that incorporate flexibility and control would provide important insights into how individuals modify their behaviour, or create strategies, to facilitate WFB. The central role of flexibility and control in self-employment suggests that this work arrangement would provide a unique context in which to explore for and document proactive WFB strategies. The link between proactive WFB strategies and self-employment is the basis of the next Chapter.

In a review of the use of role theory within the work/family literature, and an attempt to revive the theory as a useful model, Marks & MacDermid (1996: 417) suggest that most of the role theory-based work/family literature has moved away from the holistic, "systematic organizations of roles and selves" that served as the theory's starting point towards a more atomistic and narrow focus on the combination of two distinct social roles (work and family). They further argue that researchers utilizing the role strain approach also added a hierarchical character to social roles in which individuals favoured one role over another, a feature also missing from the original theory (1996: 418). These researchers suggest that examining individuals in a broader context would contribute to greater understanding of role functioning. In other words, they argue that many of

the limitations of role theory result from misunderstanding and misapplication of the theory rather than from basic tenets of the theory itself.

Clearly individuals attempting to balance work and family demands interact within the socially constructed spheres of work and family. However, this does not establish that they are attempting to adequately fulfil socially constructed roles. The fact that external, organizational features such as flex-place and flex-time work arrangements impact on role conflict or balance indicates that there is much more going on in this relationship than the search for adequate role fulfilment (Clark, 2000: 750). In other words, despite the dominance of role theory in the work/family literature, it is possible to conceive of work and family as social constructs without relying on social roles as the fundamental drivers of social behavior within these realms.

Like the bulk of work/family research that relies on role theory to explain behavior, this study recognizes the power of social structures in influencing individual behavior. Unlike role theory, however, this study does not assume that all behavior within work and family realms develops out of the goal to adequately fulfil role obligations. Work-family border models (Clark, 2000, 2002; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Hall & Richter, 1988) address the impact of both social structures and individual agency in the interaction between work and family domains without arguing that social behavior is driven by social roles. While recognizing the existence of social structures, in terms of "environmental givens... that are difficult or impossible to alter" they allow for a clearer specification of the impact of individual choices on social behavior, in that "the environment also provides choices and opportunities, the raw materials for each person to exercise a degree of agency" (Clark, 2002: 24). Instead of arguing that individuals seek to meet role demands, these models argue that individuals operate within distinct social settings, "often tailoring their focus, their goals, and their interpersonal style to fit the unique demands of each" (Clark, 2000: 751). These models make it possible to account for the agency of individual actors, their ability to adjust their behaviour over time, in response to a changing social environment, and to account for the salience of a broader range of features of the work/family interface, including the spatial, temporal, social and behavioural connections between work and family (Clark 2000: 750). I will outline these models and situate them within the dissertation's overall theoretical framework in the next Chapter.

This Chapter has reviewed the general work-family literature, with a particular emphasis on the fundamental units of the analytical framework introduced in Chapter two. The framework suggests that individuals achieve WFB at the intersection between work and family. Individual,

work, and family characteristics all impact on WFB, and I identified a number of these characteristics throughout this literature review Chapter. This Chapter also revealed the salience of time, flexibility, and control as unifying themes across the academic literature, while identifying opportunities to unpack, and more carefully assess not only the relationship between each of these themes and WFB, but also the relationships between them. Chapter four expands on the literature review, by focusing more specifically on research exploring work and family issues among self-employed workers, and continues the discussion of the time, flexibility, and control within that literature. Finally, this chapter questioned the utility of role theory as a unifying frame of reference, providing the rationale for adopting an alternative theoretical framework that can account for social behavior within work and family domains without relying on adequate role fulfilment as the fundamental driver of social behavior. I will utilize a theoretical framework comprised of work-family border models, structuration theory, and the life course perspective, which I will develop throughout Chapter five, the theory chapter of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 4 - LITERATURE REVIEW : SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY

While the preceding discussion examined work and family role combination among employed workers (and its embedded location within role theory), the present Chapter summarizes research examining work/family combination among self-employed workers, and summarizes opportunities to expand WFB literature beyond its current focus on employed workers. A number of researchers have investigated the link between family variables and self-employment, and this research follows two general themes: the impact of family variables on decisions to enter self-employment; and the impact of family variables on economic success within this work arrangement.

While neither of these approaches addresses WFB directly, they do identify a number of important links between self-employment and the WFB literature, most notably in female self-employment entry motivations and in the impact of flexibility and control on WFB. Recall from Chapter three that being female, in a dual-income family, with having children all contributed to negative work/family combination outcome measures. Each of these characteristics is also positively associated with entry into self-employment. The literature review in the current Chapter will identify that for women, being married to an employed spouse (i.e. in a dual-income family), and having small children also increase the likelihood that women will become self-employed. In terms of the impact of control and flexibility on WFB, while being female and having children tend to increase role conflict, this relationship is diminished among professional and managerial women with high dual commitments to work and family (O'Neil & Greenberger, 1994: 102). O'Neil & Greenberger (1994: 102) argued that being in professional and managerial occupations facilitated WFB because this provided increased access to flexibility and control over the work process. This Chapter argues that self-employment offers comparable access to flexibility and control, and by extension, the possibility of facilitated WFB. Following a review of entry motivations and the impact of family characteristics on self-employment outcome measures, I will examine research of work/family conflict among self-employed workers, and subsequently establish the need to examine WFB directly among individuals in this work arrangement.

Work & Family Combination for the Self-Employed

Researchers examining the relationship between self-employment and family generally focus on three main areas: assessing the impact of family characteristics on the decision to

become self-employed, examining the impact of family characteristics on financial success among self-employed workers, and to a lesser degree on work-family role combination among self-employed workers.

Measuring the impact of family on decisions to enter self-employment

Gendered comparisons of entry motivations generally, but not exclusively, show that although individuals are motivated by a multitude of factors, family-related characteristics impact more heavily on women's than men's decisions to become self-employed. The presence of children and an employed or income-earning spouse are the strongest family-related predictors of female self-employment (Carr, 1996; Caputo & Dolinsky, 1996). Using arguably dated information from the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, Carr (1996) found that having pre-school aged children and being married were the strongest predictors of female self-employment, whereas human capital characteristics (particularly college level education, and increasing age) were the strongest predictors of male self-employment. Carr (1996: 37) concluded that women "appear to select self-employment as a flexible career option" in order to balance their work and family demands.

Caputo & Dolinsky (1996) also examined the impact of family characteristics on the likelihood that a woman would become self-employed. Using the 1988 American National Longitudinal Study of Labour Market Experience, these researchers found that the presence of young children in the household increased the likelihood of female self-employment, and suggested that women used this flexible work strategy to offset the cost of childcare (1996: 11). In this study, although the presence of children was positively and significantly related to female self-employment, having a self-employed husband had an even greater impact. Husbands who provided childcare also increased the likelihood of their wives entering this work arrangement.

Building on Carr's (1996) research, Boden (1999) sought to confirm that family considerations had a strong impact on women's self-employment decisions. Like Carr, Boden (1999: 72) "attributes the differential impact of having young children as a manifestation of women's pursuit of self-employment for flexibility of working hours." Boden's research improved upon Carr's by using more recent data (1995 Current Population Survey) that directly asked respondents why they chose to enter self-employment. He found that women were much more likely to cite "flexibility of schedule," "family obligations," and "child care problems" as contributing

to their decision to become self-employed than were men (1999: 80). Boden found that having young children increased a woman's likelihood of entering self-employment, but had no impact on men's probability of doing so. Reflecting upon gendered comparisons of self-employment success based on income, Boden (1999: 81) suggested that "even if self-employment earnings could be properly measured, fundamental gender differences in the reasons why individuals become self-employed make gender comparisons of self-employment earnings virtually meaningless." Although the focus of Boden's research was the impact of family factors on entry into self-employment, the single greatest motivation to enter this work arrangement for both men and women was the opportunity to 'be one's own boss' – suggesting that the perceived autonomy of self-employment is a crucial motivation to enter this work arrangement.

Carr, Boden, and Caputo & Dolinski, using secondary data available from large national level surveys, found evidence that family variables impact upon female entry into self-employment. Researchers using primary data collection instruments designed to examine entry motivations in more detail offer somewhat different findings. In a study of one hundred and twenty-nine American women executives and professionals, Buttner & Moore (1997: 41) found the desire for challenge and self-determination to be the most influential motivators to enter self-employment, followed by "concern about managing family and work." Jurik (1998) interviewed thirty-five female and eleven male self-employed homeworkers and found that "self-fulfilment" was the most common reason to enter self-employment for both men and women. Her respondents described self-fulfilment as "autonomy, freedom from supervision, freedom to set their working conditions and hours, and the opportunity to perform varied, interesting, or challenging work" indicating that they gained self-fulfilment from self-employment in a number of different ways (1998: 18). Flexibility was also a substantial motivation among Jurik's respondents, and as with self-fulfilment, it came in many forms. Women in this study were more likely to use flexibility in order to take care of children, leading Jurik to conclude that self-employed homework "does little to alter traditional gender divisions of household labour" (1998: 19).

Green & Cohen (1995) also examined female entrance into self-employment, but focused exclusively on the transition from paid employment into self-employment. This study utilized in-depth interviews with twenty-four women in the United Kingdom to examine "the ways in which respondents' roles and responsibilities as mothers impacted on their experiences and perceptions of moving from organizational employment to self-employment" (1995: 298). The researchers

found that while many of the mothers in their sample experienced pressure while trying to combine work and family roles, it was not this conflict alone that motivated the women to enter self-employment (1995: 307). Inflexibility of traditional working relationships, and the difficulties generating promotional opportunities also impacted their decisions to leave employment. In some cases, women attributed their decision to leave employment to family responsibilities but upon further discussion revealed that the workplace not only stifled their opportunities to balance work and family but their opportunities to succeed in the workplace.

Of particular relevance to this dissertation is Green & Cohen's (1995: 312) finding that although women entered self-employment in search of flexibility and work family balance, mothers "who felt guilty and emotionally torn while working in organizations expressed similar feelings when self-employed." The researchers argued that self-employment does not alleviate the difficulty of managing the emotional burden of work/family conflict, because the conflict seems to permeate women's working lives, regardless of work form or context. The researchers concluded that rather than liberating women from the stifling burden of work and family responsibilities, self-employment offers only the promise of freedom while reinforcing existing inequalities in work and family realms (1995:312).

In the studies reviewed above, researchers examining self-employment entry motivations sought to determine whether women enter this work arrangement for family reasons, or whether family reasons have a stronger impact on female than male entry motivations. Those researchers who focused on family-related variables, including Carr, Boden, and Caputo & Dolinski, established that these variables were more strongly related to female than male self-employment, and concluded that women often enter self-employment for family reasons. Significantly however, those researchers who explored the issue in more depth using either interviews or data collection instruments designed specifically to assess entry motivations found that 'family reasons' often contributed less to overall entry motivations than did the search for challenge and self-determination (Buttner & Moore, 1997: 41); self-fulfilment (Jurik, 1998: 18), difficulties generating promotional opportunities; and flexibility or autonomy (Green & Cohen, 1995: 307, Jurik, 1998: 18). Thus while family reasons offer some information about why women enter self-employment, this clearly is only part of the entire equation. Given the links made in the previous Chapter between flexibility and control and WFB, individuals entering self-employment in search of these elements

may in fact indirectly improve their access to WFB. Researchers have yet to explore this potential relationship in full.

Linking family to economic success for self-employed workers

The second broad category of research linking self-employment and family characteristics examines how they impact on economic success for self-employed workers. Overall this research suggests that families have a negative impact on economic success for females, while encouraging success for males. Utilizing a three-year panel survey of ninety-nine female and three hundred and twelve male business owners in Indiana, U.S.A, Loscocco & Leicht (1993) examined gendered differences in the connection between family characteristics and economic success among small-business owners. The researchers found that married women were the least economically successful small business owners, falling behind married men and single men and women (1995: 882). Family responsibilities intruded on women's, but promoted men's business success, and single women were more financially successful than married women (1995: 883). In this study, female small business owners were more likely to be single, spend more time on domestic duties, operate smaller, younger businesses, and have less human capital than their male counterparts. The researchers concluded that single women appear to be fulfilling a breadwinner role, but were unable to determine whether the absence of marriage ('as a reinforcer of traditional gender roles') or the weakened economic position of the sole provider supplied the motivation to generate more business income (1995: 883). The researchers did not specify whether the single women in the sample were less likely to be mothers than the married women, making it difficult to determine the relative impact of children on women's small-business success. The researchers suggest that given the many differences between male and female owners "it is surprising that gender discrepancies in sales volume and earnings are not greater" (1995: 882).

Hundley (2000, 2001) also documented the impact of family variables on economic success for self-employed women. Comparing employed and self-employed men and women using the 1972 National Longitudinal Study of High School Class, Hundley found that marriage and family size had a negative impact on earnings for self-employed women, but a positive effect for self-employed men. In addition to marriage and family size, hours spent in household labour also detracted from self-employed women's earnings. Although these variables decreased earnings for employed women as well, the effect was "less pronounced" (2000: 95). Hundley (2001: 825)

further found that while a large portion of the earnings differential between men and women is due to business characteristics, particularly industry location, the distribution of hours between market work and household work made the "most marked contribution to the explanation of the annual earnings differential." Time spent in household labour had a more significant impact on earning differences between self-employed women than men because "women and men who are self-employed specialize more intensively in housework and market work respectively" (2000: 111). In other words, self-employed women spend more and self-employed men spend less in domestic work than their employed counterparts, leaving Hundley to conclude that women "apparently tended to choose self-employment to facilitate household production, and men to achieve higher earnings" (2000: 95).

In combination, the entry motivation and economic success research indicates that while both men and women enter self-employment in search of flexibility and some aspect of control over work, family variables weigh more heavily on female entry decisions. Once in self-employment, family variables tend to have a negative economic impact on female business owners. Hundley has suggested that because male and female entry motivations are so different, comparing their economic outcomes is essentially meaningless. His conclusion does not adequately account for the strength of flexibility and control (along with other non-family variables) on female entry motivations. Moreover, identifying a link between family variables and self-employment at best suggests that these women can use self-employment to facilitate WFB. The preceding studies have not specifically addressed how individual women can use self-employment to gain an effective balance between their work and family demands. A broader, more encompassing approach that considers not only why women enter self-employment, but whether and how they translate this work arrangement into WFB will fill in substantial gaps within the self-employment and family literature.

There is very little theoretical overlap between the self-employment/family and general WFB literatures, as none of the preceding studies directly incorporated role theory into their analyses. Buttner & Moore, 1997; Boden, 1999; Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998; and Hundley, 2000, 2001 all examined the relationship between self-employment and family variables without testing specified theoretical models. Carr (1996) explored whether women are 'pushed' into self-employment by lack of sufficient access to the labour market, 'pulled' into self-employment for its promised flexibility and control, or whether they experience some combination of these factors.

Jurik (1998) compared the impact of empowering and constraining dimensions of self-employment on male and female homework. While not addressing social roles directly, she found that homework reifies gendered divisions of labour, as self-employed homeworking women spend more time in unpaid domestic labour than do their male counterparts. Like Jurik, Green & Cohen (1995) did not test role theory, but referred to social roles while concluding their observations. Using interview data to uncover themes linking the exit/entry motivations of women who left paid employment for self-employment, they concluded that "while self-employment offers ways of accommodating women's dual roles as mothers and as professionals, it does little to alter their structural positions within the labour market and society more generally, nor does it seem to have any impact on their ideological perspectives" (1995: 312).

Loscocco & Leicht (1993) came closest to using role theory, although they did not specifically identify it as driving their research. These researchers compared gender similarity and gender difference models, testing whether there are stronger differences within or between male and female entrepreneurs in terms of entry motivations. The gender differences model suggests that individuals will fill traditional gender roles, and is thus rooted in role theory. The researchers found that among married individuals, traditional gender roles do impact on business success (married women are less economically successful than married men and single men and women because they spend more time in unpaid domestic labour than any other group, consistent with the homemaker social role (1993: 875). While researchers linking family variables to self-employment entry motivations and economic success make little use of Role theory, this model is not completely absent from the self-employment literature. The next section examines role conflict among self-employed workers.

Work-family role conflict & self-employment

The work-family role conflict literature regarding self-employed workers is exceptionally limited. The most notable limitation of this literature is in the volume of research. In preparing for the literature review, I completed several searches of academic databases over a three-year period, but could locate only one study examining work/family role conflict or balance among self-employed workers. Fergusun & Durup (1997: 44) encountered this same problem in their review of work/family conflict among entrepreneurial women. Stoner, Hartman, and Arora (1990) is the single study that both Fergusun & Durup and I were able to locate examining work-family conflict

among self-employed individuals. In a survey-based study of 92 business owners in Illinois and California, Stoner, Hartman & Arora (1990) concluded that female small-business owners experience significant "interference or conflict between work and family roles," and "felt that they come home from work too tired to do the things they would like to do, felt the demands of their business took away from their personal interests, and made it difficult to relax at home" (1990: 36). Marital status, number of children, and number of hours worked were unrelated to work-family conflict for participants in this study (1990: 37).

This summary of available research examining the relationship between self-employment and family variables identifies a number of opportunities to contribute to the existing literature, building upon gaps that I have already identified throughout the context and academic literature review. The fundamental goal of this dissertation is to contribute to both the work-family and self-employment literatures by addressing these research opportunities:

First, the data is primarily quantitative, and does not allow the researchers to obtain in-depth, contextualized personal accounts of how individuals define and negotiate a balance between work and family roles (a limitation identified in the summary of the general WFB literature as well).

Second, we know that women often (but not exclusively) enter self-employment to obtain flexible schedules and the ability to work from home, and that family characteristics have a stronger impact on women's than men's decisions to enter self-employment. A number of researchers have suggested that these patterns identify self-employment as a strategy that women can use to facilitate WFB, including Aria, Carr, Boden, and Caputo & Dolinski. We also know, however, that married women with children face substantial income deficits compared to employed women and employed and self-employed men, and that self-employment is not particularly effective in reducing work/family conflict (Green & Cohen, 1995: 315). This apparent contradiction between the promise and reality of self-employment as facilitating WFB deserves further scrutiny.

Third, only Carr (1996) addresses the heterogeneity of self-employment in her study, by comparing incorporated and non-incorporated businesses as a proxy measure of skilled vs. unskilled self-employment. Given that diversity of experiences within self-employment, comparison within this category offers interesting opportunities for understanding self-employment that largely have been excluded from preceding research.

Fourth, prior to Boden's (1999) study, researchers used flexibility of scheduling and ability to work from home as proxy measures of WFB in terms of reasons for entering self-employment. Boden's research improves upon these proxy measures by adding childcare problems and family/personal obligations into the analysis. These items add crucial pieces of information to the existing literature, but again do not cover the potential complexity of issues involved in personal negotiation of proactive WFB strategies.

In summary, there is substantial room for the present study to contribute to the existing WFB literature by focusing on self-employed workers, by recognizing and incorporating heterogeneity within this work arrangement into the discussion, and by utilizing interview data that can provide much more detailed accounts of the motivations and balance strategies utilized by these workers in their efforts to balance work and family demands.

Integrating the Work/Family Balance and Self-Employment Literatures

The academic literature reviewed over the current and preceding Chapters summarized researchers' efforts to understand work and family combination for employed and self-employed individuals. Both literatures have limitations that offer opportunities for further research. They also identify a number of essential points of congruence between the literatures, highlighting WFB among self-employed women as a particularly interesting line of inquiry. When presented together, these findings outline the necessity of examining how self-employed women balance their work and family demands:

1. Researchers have identified flexibility in the scheduling and location of work, and perceived control over work as essential in alleviating work/family conflict.
2. Individuals identify flexibility and autonomy or control as essential motivating factors in entering self-employment.
3. Being female, married, and having small children all are positively associated with work/family conflict.
4. These personal characteristics are also positively associated with being self-employed.
5. While many authors have argued that self-employment offers promise of WFB, results are contradictory.

6. The mismatch between the promise and reality of self-employment in facilitating WFB is not necessarily surprising, given that SE is a particularly demanding work arrangement, despite opportunities for flexibility and control.

The following section examines the contradiction outlined in point six above, namely that self-employment contains features that researchers have identified as both facilitating and constraining effective work-family combination.

Control, self-employment and work/family balance

While efforts to examine WFB among the self-employed are very limited, there are a number of points of congruence between the literatures that suggest this would be a fruitful line of examination, particularly in terms of the structural features of the work arrangement. Flexibility and control are salient themes throughout work-family and self-employment research, serving as a conceptual bridge between these two literatures. Recall from the review of the general WFB literature that flexibility (in terms of location and scheduling) as well as perceived control over work both were associated with lower levels of work/family conflict among employed workers (Bailyn et. al, 2002: 22; Bullers, 1999: 186; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 62; Eagle et. al. 1998: 692; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Hill, Miller, Weiner, & Colihan, 1998: 681; Osterman, 1995: 693; Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 796). Similarly, flexibility and autonomy (control) are among the most common motivations for entering self-employment for both men and women (Boden, 1999; Green & Cohen, 1995). The following sections review the literature linking self-employment and control, and the opportunity for WFB among self-employed workers.

The "degree of control that a worker exercises" is the "key to distinguishing" between employed and self-employed workers (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001: 13). The notion that self-employed individuals exercise control over their work is a crucial link between self-employment and the existing literature on work/family conflict and the promise of WFB. Because both male and female entrepreneurs seek independence and autonomy through self-employment, and control is a defining component of self-employment, there is ample evidence that individuals are attempting to use this form of work to increase control over their work, yet efforts to link control in self-employment to WFB are very limited (Statistics Canada, 1997b: 5). Moreover, there is mounting evidence that the amount of control that self-employed workers actually exert over the labour

processes varies substantially within the work arrangement, with disguised-employee contractors having very little control over work (Gringeri, 1996: 186).

Recent Canadian research examining motivations to enter self-employment listed 'control and decision-making' as a separate category from 'independence and freedom' (Human Resources Development Canada, 2002: 27). In specifying their motivations to enter self-employment, 36.3% of Canadians chose the 'independence, freedom, own-boss', category while 7.4% chose 'control, responsibility, decision-making'. Combining these scores, in keeping with the conceptual combinations suggested above reveals that 43.7% of Canadians identify control and related concepts as their primary motivation for becoming self-employed. For both men and women, control-related concepts are the most common motivations for entering self-employment.

A significant portion of available workplace control research focuses on micro-level psychological processes without addressing the contextual or structural components of work (Lowe, 1989: 8; Karasek & Theorell, 1990: 7). Like the work/family conflict literature, the control literature examines individual coping responses to stress in the workplace, with a particular emphasis on negative physiological outcomes such as fatigue, anxiety, depression, and physical illness (Dollard, Winefield, Winefield & de Jonge, 2000: 501; de Jonge, van Breukelen, Landeweerd & Nijhuis, 1999: 96; Krahn & Lowe, 1998: 425). It also attributes the existence of work-related stress to maladaptive responses by individual workers. The person-environment fit model, for example, posits that work-related stress results when a person is not able to cope with pressure in the workplace (Krahn & Lowe, 1998: 425: Lowe, 1989: 9). This literature advocates relaxation therapies, time-management skills training, and self-awareness therapies to help individuals cope with workplace stress (Karasek & Theorell, 1990:7). By focusing on individual responsibility for stress, this literature effectively treats the symptoms, rather than the causes of stress.

Although still measuring physiological outcomes at an individual level, Karasek and Theorell's *demand-control model* examines the relationship between the structure of work and its impact on individual workers. In this model, stress is still an individual response to working conditions, but stress varies by working conditions rather than by the coping mechanisms of individual workers. The fundamental premise of the model is that "when psychological demands of the job are high, and the worker's control over the task is low" then the individual will experience psychological strain (Karasek, 1989: 133). Within the work/family conflict literature, Higgins et. al.

(1992), Piltch et. al. (1994), and Pleck et. al. (1980) established that individuals with low perceived levels of control over work experience higher levels of work/family conflict than those with high perceived levels of control over work.

With freedom comes responsibility

While self-employment offers the promise of control over work, and control is associated with low levels of work/family conflict among employees, self-employment also comes with a number of salient risks (Lewin-Epstein and Yuchtman-Yaar 1991: 293). The risks of self-employment include uncertainty, fluctuations in markets and demands, responsibility for decision-making and profitability, and the time and effort needed to make a business successful (Lewin-Epstein and Yuchtman-Yaar, 1991: 294). In addition to being responsible for their own jobs, the self-employed also may be responsible for the jobs of their employees and any physical assets needed to run the business. Moreover, the characteristics of the job often infuse all aspects of the individual's life so that boundaries between work, leisure and family become blurred (Ferguson & Burup, 1997: 37). Thus the independence of self-employment comes with a great deal of responsibility as well as economic risk (Lewin-Epstein and Yuchtman-Yaar (1991: 294). In essence, self-employed workers encounter aspects of paid work that both contribute to and hinder opportunities for the generation of work-related stress.

Lewin-Epstein and Yuchtman-Yaar (1991: 299) attempted to identify how self-employed individuals compared to employees on outcome measures of work-related stress, and found that self-employed men smoked 50% more cigarettes, were more obese, and experienced higher levels of work-related stress than employed men, but reported similar levels of personal well-being. They concluded that the beneficial components of self-employment, including autonomy, self-direction, and higher income must be weighed against decreased job security, greater proneness to risk, and the likelihood of illness (1991: 306).

Based on Canadian, all male, data collected through three hundred and thirty-five questionnaires, Jamal (1997: 52) found that self-employed workers experienced higher job stress and psychosomatic health problems, and lower job satisfaction than employees. As with the respondents in Lewin-Epstein & Yuchtman-Yaar's research, higher levels of job stress were offset by higher levels of non-work satisfaction (Jamal, 1997: 52). Jamal suggested that these high levels of job stress contradicted conventional wisdom regarding the autonomy of self-employment, and

suggested that the motivations to enter self-employment may play an essential mediating role. In essence, individuals 'pushed' into self-employment because no other work was available may exhibit higher levels of job stress than those who entered this work arrangement for its perceived autonomy and independence (this information was not gathered in the questionnaire).

In research designed specifically to measure the work-home role conflict of female small-business owners, Stoner, Hartman, and Arora (1990) found that fatigue, difficulty in relaxing, inability to pursue personal interests, and schedule conflicts were the most salient problems experienced by female small-business owners. The researchers concluded that female small business owners do experience significant interference or conflict between work and home roles. Of particular interest to the dissertation research is that marital status, number of children, and number of hours worked were not significantly related to work-home role conflict. As with Jamal's (1997) findings, this research suggests that the reasons for entering into self-employment may mediate resulting levels of role-conflict and stress. In other words, if women enter self-employment in order to balance work and family, then they may utilize the flexibility of the working relationship to alleviate difficulties arising from conflicts in raising children and maintaining employment. Information on how or if they achieve this is not available in the existing literature.

Lewin-Epstein and Yuchtman-Yarr's research identifies that although individuals often enter self-employment in search of autonomy, that autonomy comes at a heavy price in terms of increased responsibility, uncertainty, time spent working, and potential for health risks. Ferguson & Durup (1997: 37) claim that "the precious autonomy and flexibility that initially inspired the entrepreneur can quickly become restricted by the demands of clients or customers, or by a fickle market." Paired with Jamal's findings that self-employment leads to increased risks of job stress and health problems, this work arrangement offers a number of contradictions between perceived benefits and actual outcomes. Although Lewin-Epstein & Yuchtman-Yarr and Jamal's studies focused exclusively on men, and we have established that experiences of self-employment vary substantially by gender, these findings do provide some insights into the translation of perception into reality for self-employed women. We know that to a greater extent than men, women often enter self-employment for family reasons, but we do not know whether they are able to translate self-employment into WFB. The high levels of personal commitment, financial risk, and long hours that characterize self-employment may make WFB among self-employed women more difficult than existing theoretical arguments have suggested (Ferguson & Durup, 1997: 31). This

inconsistency provides an opportunity for further investigation in order to increase our understanding of the relationship between self-employment, control and WFB.

Although a number of researchers have established that control is central to self-employment, few have identified variations of control *within* this employment category. Studies recognizing internal divisions within self-employment have identified that viewing 'self-employment' as a homogenous category severely restrict our understanding of this work form (Carr, 1996; Hughes, 1999; Lowe, Schellenberg, & Davidman, 1999). Recent efforts to identify the heterogeneous nature of self-employment divide workers into categories based on whether or not business owners employ others, and whether or not their business is incorporated (Hughes, 1999; Carr, 1996). The diversity of employment experiences within self-employment implies that perceived levels of control will vary significantly within this work form, thus there is ample room to examine the impact of varying levels of perceived control on WFB by focusing exclusively on self-employed workers.

Psychosocial research on the reciprocal relationship between employment and control indicates that the mere fact of being self-employment increases perceived levels of control (Bullers, 1999: 181). Control is an integral feature of self-employment, defining it as a distinct work form, infusing motivations to enter this type of work, and increasing perceived levels of control within the work context. What is clear in the existing self-employment literature is that self-employment offers greater access to control over the work process, and that both men and women enter self-employment in search of autonomy, independence, and the opportunity to 'be their own boss.' WFB researchers have established that control also is positively associated with balance among employees. What is not clear in the literature is how self-employed women can translate control afforded by their work arrangement into increased WFB, particularly given the price these individuals pay in terms of financial risk and responsibility, long working hours and commitment required by personal businesses. This study aims to fill this important gap in the literature.

Summarizing the Work-Family and Self-Employment Literature Reviews

The complete literature review highlighted a number of opportunities to increase our understanding of WFB. Both here and in Chapter two, I addressed the necessity and potential benefits of examining the WFB efforts of self-employed women. In Chapter six, I will outline the benefits of utilizing in-depth interviews as an alternative methodological approach. In the next

Chapter, I discuss the theoretical models that I will draw upon to examine WFB, in response to the limitations of the theoretical models currently dominating the literature. As outlined earlier, a number of opportunities exist to go beyond the limitations of role theory, particularly though acknowledging the structural components of the work environment while accounting for individual agency in seeking WFB, and how these attempts or strategies for balancing work and family demands might change over time.

The review and critique of the social and academic context of WFB among self-employed women has raised a number of research questions and identified several opportunities to contribute to the existing literature. My underlying argument is that while work/family conflict may simply *happen* (as a result of irreconcilable work and family demands), WFB does not.

The central research questions guiding the study are:

What does 'work and family balance' mean to self-employed women? How do women balance their work and family demands? What impact, if any, does self-employment have on WFB?

In order to assess whether self-employment contributes to WFB, it will be necessary to identify with respondents what WFB means to them. Current approaches to WFB often summarize macro-level trends in labour force participation rates without addressing what a balance between work and family is, or how it is achieved. An effective exploration of the relationship between self-employment and WFB will require establishing the personal meaning of WFB among participants. Pursuing this research question will expand our understanding of the term 'WFB' by capturing both the meaning of WFB among self-employed women as well as personal narratives outlining the techniques or practices these women use to combine work and family responsibilities. Researchers studying WFB among employees have determined that flexibility and perceived control are essential in alleviating conflict/facilitating balance. Flexibility and control are central elements of self-employment. Moreover, self-employment also contains features that might negatively impact on WFB such as substantial commitments of time and energy. What is not clear in the literature is how (or if) self-employed workers translate flexibility and control over work into a sense of balance between work and family demands, or how other elements of self-employment act to deter WFB.

The present study will add to the existing literature in a number of ways: first, by focusing on positive, proactive attempts to meet (i.e. 'balance') competing work and family demands, as opposed to measuring conflict and coping mechanisms to alleviate conflict; second, by identifying patterns, or identifiable strategies for meeting work and family demands; third, by exploring these issues with self-employed women, to determine whether or how they use the flexibility and control afforded by self-employment to facilitate WFB; fourth, by utilizing in-depth interviews and a qualitative methodology to provide more detailed, context sensitive data regarding subjective understandings of and strategies used to achieve WFB; and fifth by employing a theoretical framework that can account for individual agency in achieving balance, and to acknowledge that individuals may change their WFB strategies over time in response to changes in the work and family environment.

Examining these broad issues will provide information fundamental to addressing this central argument, which condenses crucial themes and gaps from the literature review:

> Although women often enter self-employment in search of flexibility, control, and the ability to balance work and family, characteristics of this work arrangement and the unique demands individual families impinge upon the ability to effectively achieve this balance. In the context of a work arrangement that allows for some flexibility and control over work, women will develop various identifiable strategies for meeting their competing work and family demands.

Chapter five outlines the theoretical framework that will provide that conceptual tools for understanding WFB among self-employed women.

CHAPTER 5 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

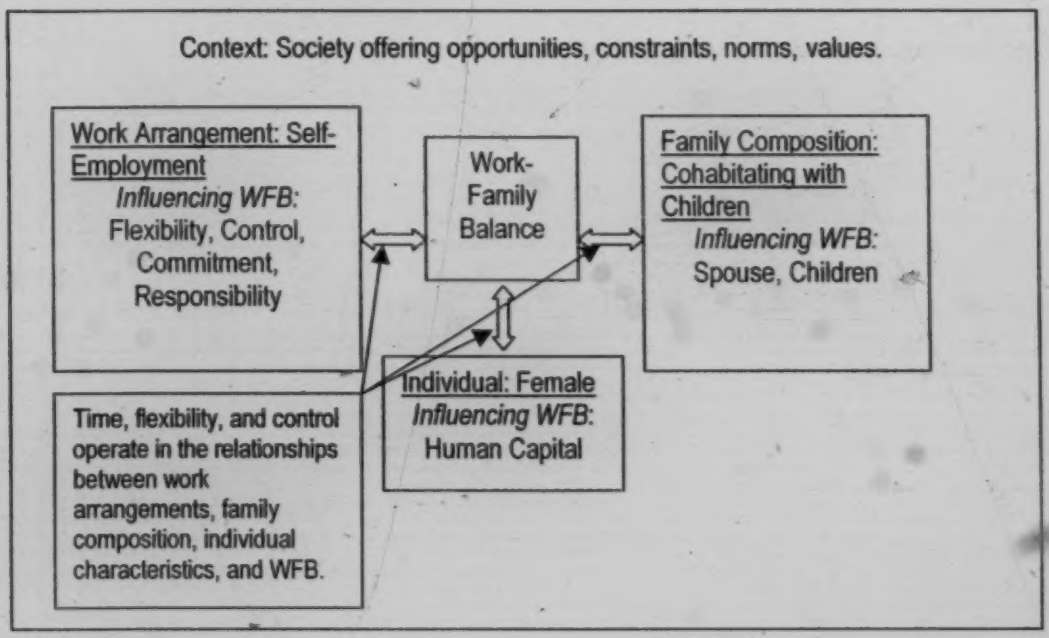
Elements from Giddens' structuration theory, the life course perspective, and models of work/family border maintenance form the theoretical framework for this research project. While Chapter two outlined the social context for the study and Chapters three and four summarized the existing WFB academic literature, this Chapter outlines the components, contributions, and limitations of the theoretical models that will frame the data analysis. The motivation for selecting these theoretical models was to improve upon our current understanding of WFB by highlighting that individuals develop WFB strategies in response to constraining social structures, that they may adapt these strategies over time, and that the strategies involve adapting personal behaviours as well as components of the work environment (particularly the location and scheduling of work). The models provide a framework to account for individual agency in developing and improving WFB strategies over time, and doing this in a dynamic socio-historical context.

As indicated in the introductory Chapter, the elements of the framework range from a broad and encompassing view of social life, to a more focused view of the interplay between life course trajectories, and finally a very precise concentration on the daily practices of achieving WFB within work and family domains. The elements of the framework all share the core assumption that individuals are able to act within social constraints, and that social context is a powerful mediator of individual action. Acknowledging individual agency makes it possible to view WFB as an adaptive strategy for combining work and family life, a fundamental goal of this research project. Structuration theory makes it possible to view individuals as active agents whose actions may become social structures that in turn eventually limit further action. The life course perspective highlights the changing nature of both social structures and individual adaptation over time. The work-family border models offer tools for analyzing the daily construction of WFB at the micro level.

While sharing the same fundamental premise regarding agency and structure, as we move through the framework from structuration theory to the work-family border models, each element offer more precise conceptual tools for examining WFB. Because each element of the framework successively focuses more precisely on work and family combination, they also become more relevant and useful in understanding WFB. The data analysis reflects this increasing relevance, and relies most heavily on the work-family border models for describing adaptive WFB among respondents.

In addition to discussing the theoretical framework for this study throughout this Chapter, I will also examine three concepts that link the theoretical framework to the WFB literature: control, flexibility and adaptive strategies. As identified in the literature review, researchers have identified control and flexibility as salient features of self-employment and have also identified them as having the potential to improve WFB. Analysis of the interview data also identifies the central role of these concepts, as well as that of time, in the adaptive strategies that research participants use to balance their work and family lives. The concepts of time, flexibility, and control are not unique to the theoretical framework that I use in this study, instead, they are evident throughout the work/family literature, and serve as a connection between the existing academic literatures, the theoretical framework guiding the analysis in this project, and the interview data. As time, flexibility, and control permeate the work/family literature, regardless of theoretical approach, they are part of the analytical framework of WFB, and any theory that attempts to explain WFB must be able to account for these concepts in some way. I will show throughout the analysis Chapters that the self-employed women in this study use flexibility and control as tools in developing adaptive WFB strategies. Discussion of adaptive strategies is relatively rare within the work/family literature, and this concept does not share the primary role of the other concepts. Nonetheless, these strategies reflect the active efforts of individuals to meet competing work and family demands, are thus an essential component of the current study. Fundamentally, the analytical framework for the study suggests that individuals incorporate access to time, flexibility, and control, in the personal, work, and family dimensions of their lives into the process of developing adaptive WFB strategies, as illustrated in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6: Expanded Analytical Framework


Context: Society offering opportunities, constraints, norms, values.
Work Arrangement: Self-Employment
Influencing WFB:
Flexibility, Control, Commitment, Responsibility
Work-Family Balance
Family Composition: Cohabitating with Children
Influencing WFB:
Spouse, Children
Individual: Female
Influencing WFB:
Human Capital
Time, flexibility, and control operate in the relationships between work arrangements, family composition, individual characteristics, and WFB.

The use of flexibility and control in pursuit of WFB represents the ability of individuals to act or use agency within structurally constraining contexts. All of the models in the theoretical framework acknowledge the interplay between agency and structure, but they do not explicitly identify flexibility and control as mediators. This provides an opportunity to build a conceptual bridge between the framework and the literatures. In order to explore the relationship between control, flexibility, and WFB it is essential to understand their conceptualizations and usages within the literature.

In following sections I move beyond the idea that these terms provide a conceptual bridge between the self-employment and WFB literatures to discuss conceptual definitions in more detail. Moreover, these sections identify limitations in current use and offer suggestions for improving their utility in understanding WFB. In particular, I propose supplementing respondents' perceptions of control and flexibility with objective behavioural descriptions of their use in daily life to provide a more substantial base from which to link them to active WFB strategies. Collecting evidence of

control and flexibility in use moves us beyond mere perception of their influence on WFB, to detailed descriptions of how they facilitate WFB.

Exploring Important Theoretical Concepts

The work-family and self-employment literatures provide some clues regarding how self-employed women might balance work and family. The clues emerge out of the central role of 'control over work' and 'flexibility' within both of these. Although these terms are common within both the WFB and self-employment literatures, researchers often use these terms in passing without fully conceptualizing them, making it difficult to compare their use across studies. In the following sections I discuss the use of these terms in the existing literature and identify how I use them in the present study. This section also discusses various uses of 'strategies' by work-family researchers and conceptualises the term for this study.

Control

The relative perception of control over work is one of the most centrally distinguishing characteristics of self-employment (Lowe, Schellenberg & Davidman: 1999: 8). In studying the work process, researchers have developed two broad conceptualizations of control, one referring to an internal perception or locus of control, and the other referring to the ability to manipulate (exert control over) aspects of the (external) work environment. This study examines how individuals develop and implement strategies to facilitate WFB, and strategy implementation necessitates exerting some form of control over work and family environments. For the purposes of this study, I am using a conceptualization of control that highlights motivated environmental manipulation (rather than internal perceptions), and therefore conceptualize control as *the ability to make decisions and implement changes within work and family domains.*

Situated within the psychological and socio-psychological literatures, concepts related to the internal sense of personal control appear in a number of forms, including instrumentalism, internal locus of control, psychological self-direction, and personal autonomy (Bullers, 1999: 181; Ross & Wright, 1998: 333). Control in this sense is related to "the belief that one can and does master, control, and shape one's own life" (Ross & Wright, 1998: 333). Internal perceptions of

control are distinct from the objective ability to manipulate one's external environment. It is possible for example to have the ability to alter external environments without having a strongly identified internal locus of control.

Early psychological research suggested that perceptions of control were relatively stable personality structures guiding individual interaction with the environment. This research established that individuals with high levels of internal locus of control, who felt that they could change their environment, did make proactive and effective changes to their environments. In this formulation, the internal locus of control is the cause of subsequent activity in the external environment (Bullers, 1999: 181). Subsequent researchers found that the relationship between internal perceptions of control and objective evidence of control exhibited a more bi-directional relationship, in which characteristics of the external environment could foster or limit internal perceptions of control (Bullers, 1999: 181). For example, individuals engaged in non-routine, enjoyable work offering positive social interaction with others and the ability to autonomously solve problems tend to report higher perceived levels of control over life than individuals who describe their work as routine, un-enjoyable, socially isolated, and lacking autonomy (Ross & Wright, 1998: 333).

While it is possible to argue that individuals with high internal control might self-select into non-routine, autonomous work, recent research has established that internal perceptions of control are not stable over time, and vary substantially with objective changes in work and life characteristics. For example, Buller's longitudinal research established that perceived levels of control increase with occupational prestige, earnings, supervisory status, job satisfaction, and self-employment (1998: 185). Karasek's job demands/control model follows a similar line of reasoning, suggesting that jobs with similar demands or expectations will generate very different stress responses depending on whether individuals perceive high or low levels of control over external aspects of the work environment. His model suggests that high demand jobs will only lead to high levels of stress when workers perceive that they are unable to manipulate, or exert control over, their environment in order to cope with demands (Karasek, 1979; Duxbury & Higgins, 1994: 451).

As discussed in the work-family literature review Chapter, researchers have also established a link between both perceived and objective control and work/family outcomes. Research focusing on objective control over work suggests that when individuals have the ability to manipulate features of the work environment, such as ability to refuse overtime, take time off for

personal matters, or change their work schedules, they are less likely to experience work/family conflict (Bailyn et. al. 2002: 23: Bullers, 1999: 186; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 62; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Pleck, Staines & Lang, 1980: 31; Skrypnek & Fast, 1996: 796). Duxbury & Higgins (1994: 451) examined the relationship between internal perceptions of control over work and resulting work/family conflict and found, in support of Karasek's job demands/control model, that individuals with low perceived levels of control over work experienced higher levels of role overload and bi-directional interference between work and family domains than those with high perceived levels of control over work.

Although researchers have established important links between perceived and objective control and the work environment, the literature does have some limitations. First, the fundamental basis for perceived control remains somewhat ambiguous. While the psychological literature posits perceived control as an internal personality feature, sociological and socio-psychological research has raised important questions about the direction of causality between social status and perceived control. This literature suggests that "the resources and privileges associated with higher socio-economic status provide individuals with the means to direct their lives," so that people in socially advantaged positions have access to resources that allow them to exert control over their environment, and in turn believe that they have control over that environment. Thus access to resources that facilitate control can increase perceptions of and further implementation of control over the environment in a self-perpetuating loop.

Second, researchers do not often explicitly conceptualize or attempt to fundamentally measure key aspects of research-based conceptualizations of 'control', and often incorporate the term 'control' into questions measuring control. Survey-based research, which predominates in the literature examined for this review, often relies on common conceptualizations of the term, which may not necessarily reflect subtle distinctions between perceptions of and the ability to implement control over the environment. For example, Buller's research, in establishing perceived levels of control, used the question "Sometimes I feel I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking" (1999: 183). Including 'control' in a question designed to measure control requires participants to utilize their own interpretations of the term, interpretations that might vary within the sample, and differ from the researcher's definition.

Duxbury & Higgins (1994: 453) utilized a series of questions asking respondents to estimate in a range from never to always, whether they felt that they were unable to control

important things in their life; were able to control irritations in their life; been angered because of things that happened that were outside of their control; and were able to control the way they spent their time. In this case, each question designed to measure control used the word 'control' in the question, relying excessively on respondents' interpretations of control rather than attempting to gain access to essential features of the conceptualization of the term. Wall, Jackson, Mullarky & Parker (1996) and De Rijk & Le Blanc (1998) argue that researchers must be more precise in their conceptualization of control, and pay more attention to the congruence between theory, conceptualization, and measurement.

While self-employed individuals must be responsive to the needs of their customers, they are nonetheless able to exert at least some control over a number of aspects of their working environment. In addition to exerting varying levels of control over the location and timing of work, self-employed workers also are able to exert discretion over the individuals they work with, both through hiring decisions and decisions regarding who to accept or reject as customers. Thus while it is possible to conclude that 'control' is a core component of self-employment, it also is crucially important to recognize that it may come in many different forms, and that individuals can have divergent ability to control (or not) distinct features within the work environment (including scheduling, location, co-workers, and clients).

In this research project I incorporated questions designed to explore both perceived level of control over the work process as well as elicit examples of how (or if) the women in the study were able to manipulate (exert control over) features of their external environment in pursuit of work/family integration. I incorporated two control-related questions into the interview: "Do you feel that you have control over your day-to-day work? If so, how do you use that control?" In combination, these questions led respondents to describe both their perceived level of control as well as provide behavioural information describing how they used their control. The goal in combining these two questions was to locate both subjective and objective statements regarding control, and to determine whether there was overlap or discrepancy between these statements. During the analysis Chapters I discuss the relationship between perceived and overt control and address various manifestations of control in order to contribute to clearer conceptualizations of this term in future research.

Flexibility

When individuals are able to manipulate or control structural aspects of their work environment (such as work location and schedule), that control can occur in a number of different forms, and often is closely related to flexibility. Chapter three established the crucial link between flexibility in the workplace and lower levels of work-family conflict, and identified that *scheduling* and *location* flexibility held the greatest potential for facilitating WFB. While scheduling and location flexibility are associated with lower levels of work/family conflict, flexibility alone cannot reduce work-family conflict unless individuals are able to exert some control over their flexible schedules or locations (Duxbury & Higgins, 1994; Pleck et. al., 1980 Tremblay, 2001: 124). When employers control 'flexible' work locations and schedules, 'flexibility' can actually increase work-family conflict (Tremblay, 2001: 124).

For employees, flexibility in location and scheduling of work offers some opportunity to make decisions about, or control, some aspects of the work environment, within limits. This identifies an important relationship between flexibility and control in the work process – having the ability to exert some control over distinct components of work (location, scheduling) is interchangeable conceptually with flexibility, in that individuals who can make decisions about, or control their work arrangement have flexibility within those aspects that they can control. In other words, individuals who have discretion or control over when or where to work or with whom they work, have flexible work arrangements whether or not they choose to implement them.

Opportunity for flexibility and control over work serve as primary motivations to enter self-employment for both men and women. However, the ability of self-employed individuals to flexibly arrange the scheduling and location of work varies by type and size of business, industry standards, client demands, and personal preferences (Arai, 2000: 129). While many individuals seek flexible work arrangements through self-employment, access to that flexibility may be substantially limited by factors other than personal preference to such an extent that flexibility is often "part of the ideology rather than the reality of self-employment" (Aria, 2000: 130). As with questions regarding control over work, I asked my respondents questions both about their perceived levels and types of flexibility as well as to discuss the scheduling and location of their work in more general terms. These discussions often revealed some disparity between the perceptions and reality of flexibility within self-employment.

Adaptive Strategies

I have referred throughout the preceding Chapters to the necessity of documenting the dynamic strategies that self-employed women use to balance work and family demands. This claim might seem out of place given that the overwhelming majority of preceding WFB research has focused on negative, reactive responses to work-family conflict rather than proactive means of achieving WFB. While there was little evidence of adaptive strategies in the WFB literature, individual proactive attempts to balance work and family emerged very clearly from the interviews. Although WFB researchers rarely interpret balance as a strategy, the concept of adaptive strategies does exist within the broader context of sociology of the family, as well as within the life course perspective.

Life course researchers Moen & Wethington (1992: 234) define "family adaptive strategies" as the "actions families devise for coping with, if not overcoming, the challenges of living, and for achieving their goals in the face of structural barriers." Luxton (1998: 60) indicates that research examining work/family strategies "investigate(s) how well individuals, families and households manage to get both domestic labour, especially caregiving, and paid employment coordinated among household members and others." Hochschild (1989: 18) refers to strategies for combining work and family as plans of action and emotional preparations for pursuing them. She suggests that families develop and combine several different strategies over time, and that they justify these strategies through *ideologies*, or problem-driven plans of action (1989: 15, 199).

Incorporating the concept of strategy into an analysis of WFB makes it possible to recognize that individuals or families can take an active role in improving their existing circumstances, and that families respond to changing social circumstances over time (Moen & Wethington, 1992: 246). These features meet the fundamental goals of this research project. While the concept is particularly useful to the present study, it is also important to note some limitations to the utility of the concept in the broader literature. As with 'work-family balance', and as suggested in the preceding paragraph, researchers have yet to agree on a single conceptual definition of 'strategy'. Different conceptualizations imply different operationalizations, and thus researchers can collect data that is difficult to integrate across studies. For example, in some cases, researchers merely assume the intentional nature of strategies rather than assessing this feature directly.

Becker and Williams (1999: 5) state that "work-family strategies are higher order phenomena (that) cannot be observed directly, but are reflected in the observed division of paid and household labour employed by a couple." They identify four types of work family strategies in their study based on the amount of time individuals within married couples spend in paid and unpaid labour. In "Traditional" couples, the male partner specializes in paid employment, while the female partner specializes in domestic work. "Non-traditional" couples reverse this pattern. In "Second-Shift" couples, the female partners works fewer hours in paid labour, but is responsible for the majority of domestic work in the home. In "Shared" couples, the division of domestic labour is essentially equal. While Becker & Williams are able to provide evidence that these strategies are unique in terms of life course stage, socio-economic status, work orientation, family orientation, and religious beliefs, they do not directly assess whether individuals choose these strategies, or merely adopt them by default. In other words, we do not know if individuals specialize in paid or domestic work out of personal preference or because of economic need or restricted access to the labour market. Because Becker & Williams do address the intentionality of the individuals using different strategies, it is difficult to compare these results with other "strategy" research.

Beyond conceptual and operational differences, are methodological issues in terms of units of analysis, and micro vs. macro levels of analysis (Moen & Wethington, 1992: 238). Some researchers focus on individuals, others view strategies as a family activity. At an even broader focus, researchers may focus on "collective patterns of behaviour, assumed to result from actions and decisions of individual families to improve their economic or social well-being" such as trends in fertility, labour force participation, migration, and marriage patterns (Moen & Wethington, 1992: 238). Clearly there is substantial variation in how researchers use "strategies" to understand the relationship between work and family. Given this conceptual and methodological heterogeneity, and while definitions remain ambiguous, it is essential for researchers to clearly identify their conceptual and operational use of the term.

My use of 'strategies' combines elements of these earlier conceptualizations, and supplements the WFB literature by conceiving of WFB as a proactive strategy rather than a reactive response. Moreover, in this analysis, strategies imply intentional action or activity that individuals engage in while trying to meet work and family demands. Rather than focusing on families as the unit of analysis, as in the approaches listed above, I will refer to the activities of individual women (mothers). My focus on self-employed mothers does not preclude recognizing

that other family members may contribute to work-family combination, and I do examine their contribution in the analysis sections. This study is not a study of families, but of self-employed women, and there is room in future projects to consider couples or even entire families as units of analysis using this approach as well. In this study, work-family strategies refer to *actions that individuals develop and utilize, within a structurally constrained context, to coordinate work and family demands.*

Implicit in this conceptualization is the recurring theme of structure and agency. The structural approach to understanding family adaptive strategies emphasizes that "larger social structural forces constrain, and to some extent determine, the repertoire of adaptations available to individual families in a given society" (Moen & Wethington, 1992: 243). The agency perspective emphasizes the role of individual choice, and the interplay between historically limited options and family decision-making, suggesting that although the options available to families may be limited, they still actively make decisions within those limits (Moen & Wethington, 1992: 244).

Life course theorists combine attention to structure and agency with a historical and temporal perspective, that places family decision making within a larger contextual arena, including historical, social, and cultural factors, such as shifting opportunities and constraints, resources and demands, norms and expectations (Moen & Wethington, 1992: 245). Within this perspective, researchers argue that changing configurations in structurally-mediated options and resources lead to changing responses by individual families. One of the most important components of the life course approach to family-adaptive strategies that I will incorporate into my conceptualization WFB strategies is the emphasis on the temporally dynamic nature of strategies. This emphasis acknowledges that strategies vary in timing, duration, and sequence based on the needs and resources of the family and its individual members. The concepts of family adaptive strategies, and individual WFB strategies, particularly as interpreted through the life course perspective, allow researchers to identify important linkages between individual or family-level choices with broad-scale social changes (Elder, 1994: 6; Elder & O'Rand, 1995: 465; Moen & Wethington, 1992: 246). Inflexibility in standard work arrangements combined with the need for increased levels of family income may have contributed to the growth in female self-employment in North America in the 1990s, for example.

Integrating the Life Course Perspective

As indicated in the preceding literature review Chapters, the dominant model within the WFB literature – role theory – has attracted a number of fundamental criticisms, undermining its usefulness in interpreting the efforts of individuals in combining work and family responsibilities. Elder (1994: 8) has suggested that one of the most substantial limits of the socialization/social role approach is that it became "increasingly less adequate for questions that concerned life span continuity and change." In addition, the theory is limited in its ability to address individual agency in resisting social constraints and generating unique solutions to socially constructed problems, such as seeking out self-employment in search of flexibility and autonomy when existing work arrangements make work/family combination difficult. As a static model, role theory does not provide a framework through which to understand change or resistance to social roles, particularly over time.

The life course perspective provides an alternative to this by allowing an "appreciation for the role of coping skills and human agency in selecting environments" so that researchers can account for the ability of individuals to generate individualized solutions to socially generated problems (Elder, 1994: 8). With particular reference to this study, the life course perspective provides the opportunity to situate female self-employment in the context of individual lives, including family situations; in the broader social/historical context of changing work and family forms; in a broader time horizon, by recognizing that individuals have personal histories that contribute to their current circumstances; and in a milieu that recognizes that although faced with structural constraints, individuals are able to make and act on their own decisions.

There are essentially four major dimensions underlying the life course paradigm, and each of these contribute to understanding work and family combination (Elder, 1995: 103; Hareven, 1994: 439):

1. The timing of life transitions within a social and historical context (lives in time and place).
2. The interrelationship between individual life transitions and family ones (linked lives).
3. The impact of earlier life events on later ones (the timing of lives).
4. The ability of individuals to make choices and act upon them (human agency).

These dimensions articulate that individuals exist in, and are influenced by changing social-historical, family, and individual contexts, and that they are able to adapt to changes in these contexts.

The concept of *lives in time and place* stresses that social forces shape individual life courses and have consequences for their future development (Elder 1995: 104). This concept is crucial in understanding how women combine their work and family obligations because it allows us to recognize that individuals act and make decisions within a society that influences both how we work and raise our families, and that for any one individual person, decisions in one realm of personal life both influence and are influenced by other components of that life. Chapter two identified that although work and family institutions have undergone tremendous changes in the last two decades, placing families under increasing pressure, employers, governments, and even families have made few adaptations to these changes. Canadian dual-income families must find a way to combine paid work with the care and supervision of children, in a context that does not provide adequate access to high quality childcare. It is essential to recognize that this context, with increasing labour force participation and inadequate access to child care may be a structural motivation for individual women to seek out self-employment to assist in meeting competing work and family demands.

The concept of *linked lives* highlights that "the fates of family members are tightly linked" in such a way that the skills, abilities, and deficits of individual family members shape the "familial environment," and partially determine outcomes for each family member (Cooksey, Menaghan & Jekielek, 1997: 640). This concept recognizes that individual goals may be in conflict with the needs or configuration of the family as a collective unit (Hareven, 1994: 439). This concept is particularly useful when we consider whether elements within the family domain (such as the presence of young children and lack of adequate childcare) impact on women's decisions to enter self-employment.

The *timing of lives* emphasizes that decisions or events have subsequent consequences, and we can understand the impact of children on women's subsequent decisions to enter self-employment in these terms as well. Life course theorists place different emphases on the role of *human agency* within the life course, but generally acknowledge that individuals are able to make and act upon decisions within their various socially-constructed environments (Cooksey, Menaghan & Jekielek, 1997: 643). Relating individual agency to development over time, Elder

summarizes that "within the constraints of their world, people are often planful and make choices among options that become the building blocks of their evolving life course (1995: 110). In this framework, individuals have the ability to make choices and act upon them, but existing social circumstances, individual interpretations of that context, and preceding life decisions influence the choices that they make (Elder, 1995: 110). This concept allows us to situate individual decisions to enter self-employment (as opposed to other work arrangements) within a social context comprised of inadequate access to childcare and inflexible work arrangements.

The life course perspective allows researchers to recognize macro-level social patterns in the seemingly personal transitions from youth to adulthood, school to work, single to married life, and individual to family life. The context for these transitions involves our families, our work and educational institutions, and the broader society that we live in. While the 'roles' within role theory are generally static, life course theorists acknowledge transformations or progressions over time, in social spaces resembling careers, or trajectories. An individual will have family and work careers, among others, that they must integrate or reconcile.

Trajectories are long-term patterns of stability and change that are comprised of a number of discrete transitions, or changes in status. While there is room for substantial individual variation, life course researchers have identified a number of distinct trajectories. An example of a trajectory would be completing school, entering the paid workforce, becoming married, having children, leaving the paid workforce for a period of time to care for children, returning to paid work, and retiring. While the amount of time any individual might spend in the transitions from one stage to another might vary, the overall trajectory, or pattern, would hold for a number of individuals. In the interviews for this study, respondents recounted their own personal trajectories from high school through to the present time, including transitions into paid work, marriage, motherhood, and self-employment. Their stories identified patterns among transitions that I relate to distinct WFB strategies throughout the analysis Chapters.

Life course theorists are divided regarding the impact of social structure on individual trajectories. At one extreme, structuralists argue that "modernity has led to a life course structured to the point of institutionalization" (Ranson, 1995: 60). In this view, modern societies, through industrialization, rationalization, and bureaucratization, have structured individual life courses into predictable stages loosely based on chronological age (Heinz, 1992: 9). Completion of high school

and entry into full-time paid work or post-secondary education occurs for most young Canadians in their late teens, for example.

In opposition to the modernist/structuralist view of the life course, is the post-modern or critical modernization perspective, which acknowledges substantial heterogeneity in choices and possibilities for individual actors who are freer than ever to 'construct their own biographies' (Chisholm & Du Bois-Reymond, 1993: 260). Between these two opposing views, Kruger and Baldus suggest a middle ground, indicating that "this perspective is of theoretical relevance for the structure-agency debate in sociology because tracking multiple dimensions of life course development over an extended period of time makes it very clear that structure and personal action determine the life course" (1999:356). Thus, life course theorists mirror a larger debate within sociology regarding the relative strength of social structure and individual agency in determining personal outcomes. The life course perspective raises important questions regarding whether and how individuals construct their biographies, and the impact of external social structures on their ability to negotiate a path through salient life events.

Life course researchers have identified how crucial differences in the biographies of men and women impact on, and are influenced by, work and family integration. Although there is some evidence of convergence, women historically have exhibited work careers infused with disruption, or periods of absence during which they tend primarily to the needs of their families. While the initial emphasis in documenting trajectories over time was to locate identifiable patterns, there is now overwhelming evidence that women's life courses are extremely heterogeneous, and do not exhibit the same level of consistency found in male trajectories (Moen & Han, 2001: 428). Female work trajectories are discontinuous because they take more breaks and make more adjustments in their work careers, in order to meet demands in their family spheres (Carr & Sheridan, 2001: 201). The discontinuity in female work trajectories highlights the impact of linked lives on women, and essentially undermines personal agency in constructing the life course. Women continue to hold primary responsibility for work in the family domain, and "the extent to which many women's lives are organized around the lives of others also makes them unlikely candidates for freely constructing their own biographies"(Ranson, 1995: 71).

I incorporated the life course perspective into the theoretical framework in order to understand the interplay between structure and agency in creating individual biographies, and to provide a temporally-sensitive perspective regarding how self-employed women balanced work

and family demands over the life course. Looking at lives over time and life cycle stage provides an opportunity to examine how individuals establish WFB strategies, evaluate their effectiveness, and make further adjustments when necessary. Tracing change over time is an essential component of life course research. Ideally, life course research involves examining lives across multiple time-points, in longitudinal studies. In practice, however, these studies are both difficult and expensive, and beyond the resources of most researchers (Scott & Alwin, 1998: 100). In order to go beyond static, snapshot approach to data collection, life course researchers often collect data on change over time through retrospective life histories. I used this approach in this project both so that I could identify WFB strategies, and determine whether they changed over time, but also because I had neither the time nor resources to do a longitudinal study.

Integrating Elements of Structuration Theory

Imposing the agency-structure dichotomy onto a study of self-employment is particularly interesting because a substantial portion of the entrepreneurship literature views this work arrangement as the manifestation of the "entrepreneurial type," driven almost exclusively by the personality characteristics of the individual, thus emphasizing the primacy of individual agency over structural constraints (McCarthy, 2000: 46; Stevenson, 1991: 439). The goal of incorporating structuration theory into the analysis is to explore how agency, in terms of flexibility and control within the labour process, operates among self-employed women, and whether this agency is transferred into constraining social structures, as this theory would predict.

Research examining the entrepreneurial experience has focused largely on personal characteristics and psychological attributes and traits of individual (often male) entrepreneurs, attempting to predict entrepreneurial tendencies at the micro level. This focus on individual characteristics has been particularly evident among studies of male entrepreneurs, who have historically been the focus of the bulk of entrepreneurial research (Stevenson, 1991: 439). In a historical review of entrepreneurial research, Stevenson notes that interpreting female entrepreneurs through the academic profile generated of male entrepreneurs has been an uneasy fit, "the appropriateness of using male experience as being the standard is highly questionable as we must strive to expand our present knowledge of entrepreneurship by specifically exploring the experiences of women, being the experiences of a whole new set of entrepreneurs" (Stevenson,

1991: 441). This study will allow me to "write female experience ...into entrepreneurial activity" a viewpoint that has largely been missing from the entrepreneurial literature, as well as examine the salience of agency and structure for female entrepreneurs (Stevenson, 1990: 439).

Early entrepreneurial research characterized innovation (agency), or going against existing methods of doing things (structure), as a centrally defining feature of entrepreneurship, particularly among male entrepreneurs (Green & Cohen, 1995: 299). Lee-Gosselin & Grise have argued that female entrepreneurs are innovators simply because they have chosen the unique work structure of self-employment (1990). Further complicating the idea that self-employment is an innovative employment strategy for women, is that it is difficult to pinpoint a standard or normative form of female employment against which self-employment can be viewed as innovative. Female work patterns are, and have been since before the industrial revolution, exceptionally diverse, including but not limited to unpaid, part-time, and seasonal work that varies with their own life cycles as well as with those of their children (Beach, 1989: 19). Women have worked in productive capacity with and without their families by their sides in both their homes and in factory settings for hundreds of years (Hareven, 1991: 95-124). More recent research shows that, women outnumber men in such "alternative" work arrangements as compressed workweeks, job-sharing, and home-based work. If these work arrangements have been commonly held by women for hundreds of years, it becomes important to note that they may not be "alternative" at all, but rather natural adaptations to women's need to attend to both economic, personal, and family obligations (Beach, 1989: 19). One of the basic premises of structuration theory argues that while social structures exist and are reinforced by daily activities, individuals have the power or freedom to 'act otherwise' – they can choose to act outside of the routine of daily life. The decision to 'act otherwise' is central to both academic and popular understandings of entrepreneurship. In a history of the development of the term 'entrepreneurship', Dale (1991) summarized a number of definitions of the term and its evolution over time. Academic treatment of the term focuses on individual agency, risk, and innovation. Most definitions of the term refer to action or agency as a central component: "the essence of entrepreneurship is to perceive worthwhile opportunities and to act upon them. Both parts of this twin identity are necessary – alertness and action" (Binks and Coyne, 1983: 12). In addition to the centrality of individual action, entrepreneurship also involves both innovation and an element of risk. Curran & Burrows (1987: 165) highlight the salience of innovation in their definition of entrepreneurship – "the innovatory process involved in the creation of a new economic

enterprise based on a new product or service" that can be distinguished from competing products in content, production, or marketing. Burch (1986: 4) summarizes that the individual who initiates a new business venture "organizes it, raises capital to finance it, and assumes all or a major portion of the risk."

Entering into an entrepreneurial role thus involves acting outside of the normal realm of social behaviour, enduring some form of risk, and assuming responsibility for that action. This combination of features of entrepreneurial action distinguishes entrepreneurs from employees, regardless of their level of responsibility in business organizations. Dale argues that it may also distinguish entrepreneurs from the self-employed. She suggests that individuals may be self-employed business owners of ongoing concerns, and be more vulnerable to market forces than employees, without engaging in innovative business activities (Dale, 1991: 46). Dale concludes that business ownership and financial responsibility are the characteristics that distinguish entrepreneurs and self-employed workers from employees, and that individuals can be self-employed without exhibiting unique or innovative individual agency. Dale's summary suggests that self-employed business owners may not necessarily be 'acting otherwise' – raising questions about whether or how the self-employed are able to adapt social structures relating to employment.

While the self-employed entrepreneur may exemplify individual agency by striking out individually in pursuit of personal work-related or economic goals, the macro-level patterns of self-employment allude to the presence of structural constraint, particularly for women, who are more likely to be self-employed if they are married, and the mothers of young children. "While modern labour markets take profitable advantage of a gender segmentation which supplies well-trained, low-wage and highly flexible female labour," the scarcity of licensed daycare, limited hours of regular school days combined with intermittent PD days for teachers, take for granted that women are at home – or can adjust their schedules to meet the needs of their family (Kruger and Baldus, 1999: 373). As women who work in structured employment know, adjusting work schedules to meet family needs can be exceptionally difficult, and makes a substantial contribution to the significant WFB problems currently affecting the Canadian workforce. Gendered patterns of life course development that assume women will exit the labour force to meet the needs of children are functionally supportive of dominant social structures, but do not accurately reflect the experiences of the majority of Canadian women. Understanding how women combine self-employment with

family life requires bridging the gap between agency and structure – and Giddens' structuration theory provides a roadmap for this task.

Structuration theory attempts to bridge one of sociology's predominant theoretical gaps – between the reality of social structure and the possibility of individual agency. Social structuralists argue that human beings are essentially social creatures whose behaviours and beliefs are constructed or predetermined by their surrounding social context. Individuals interact with one another socially and in doing so generate patterns of behaviour or beliefs that become social rules, which in turn begin to take on a persuasive power of their own, mediating future behaviour and beliefs. In this view, society is not an aggregate of individuals but an emergent reality of its own that results from the association between them – its properties stem from the association itself, and not from the characteristics of the individuals (Walsh, 1998: 9). Social structures emerge from interactions, and then take on a reality of their own, which is detectable in the subsequent patterns of shared social characteristics and typical behaviours. Once developed, the social structures exhibit a regulative quality and eventually limit or constrain the range of behaviours and beliefs available to members of the society.

In contrast to the structuralists' reification of social structures and rules is a much more individualistic understanding of human action. The Action or Agency position suggests that rather than being constrained by immutable social roles, individuals act as agents to create and sustain social roles. In this view, individuals shape the social fabric purposively while pursuing their own goals and collectively construct society for their own use rather than choose from a limited range of socially acceptable behaviours and ideas. Social structures do not act as 'forces in their own right' but rather they are 'what people do together and with one another' (Walsh, 1998: 12). Even though individuals make decisions in pursuit of their own needs, they still must do this within societal and institutional contexts.

Pure structure and agency views of society provide extreme views of how individuals act. Either we are 'cogs in a machine' incapable of generating unique thoughts or independent acts, or we are rogue individualists acting without regard for existing social parameters. Giddens's structuration theory attempts to reconcile this sociological dichotomy by introducing the notion of a "knowledgeable actor and a view of 'structure' that is not external to human action, but embedded in it" (Ranson, 1995: 66). Giddens' attempts to bridge the gap between agency and structure by proposing a duality in which social structures are both enabling and constraining, and are both the

medium and the outcome of individual actions (Giddens, 1976: 121; McFadden, 1995: 300). Action comprises the interventions of autonomous individuals in the social world, who engage in discrete social 'acts', or segments of action that can be explicitly categorized or described (Thompson, 1989: 58). Action is not completely spontaneous and without foundation, as individuals tend to follow or acknowledge social rules, which "influence the techniques and procedures applied in the reproduction of social practices" (Jones & Edwards, 2000: 162).

Individuals engage in actions, then review or reflect upon their actions, surveying "what they are doing, how others react to what they are doing, and the circumstances in which they are doing it" (Thompson, 1989: 58). The process of reviewing their actions both allows and requires actors to be able to explain or justify to themselves and others the motivations for their actions. In Giddens' view, this reflexivity indicates that we are knowledgeable actors, who understand the social world, are able to both take action and account for actions that we have taken. Reflexivity is central to the continuity of social practices over time and through space, and highlights the crucial role of purposive action by human agents in generating and regenerating social structures (Jones & Edwards, 2000: 162). In the process of acting, reviewing, and acting again, individual actions become social structures.

Structuration theory adds a number of crucial insights to the analysis of WFB among self-employed women, compelling refinement of some of the research questions. Again, rather than testing any particular theory, I incorporate insights from multiple models to help understand the process of WFB. Structuration theory offers the opportunity to explore how self-employed women act within the context and structural constraints of their society, their family, and their work arrangement to balance their work and family demands. Recall from earlier in this Chapter that I argue that individuals use flexibility and control as tools to develop WFB strategies, and that this activity of creating or developing strategies represents individual agency within the constraining structures of work and family demands. These insights allow some development of the earlier research questions: How do society, family and work facilitate, and alternately constrain the WFB strategies that self-employed women develop? Do the strategies become reified structures that themselves eventually constrain work and family combination? I explore each of these questions throughout the analysis Chapters.

While Giddens' theory of structuration has generated an effective middle ground on which to reconcile the divide between structure and agency, the theory also is limited in a number of

ways. Perhaps one of the most frustrating limitations of the theory is its lack of clarity and parsimony, which has contributed to very limited empirical application of the theory (summaries of main elements of the theory are distributed across five different volumes published over an eleven-year period) (Bryant & Jary, 1991: 31; McFadden, 2001: 300). Numerous researchers have argued that while Giddens has made a number of important "conceptual and terminological additions" to the agency/structure debate, the conceptualizations are often "merely metaphorical and analogical rather than making a truly original theoretical contribution," making empirical testing of the theory difficult, and therefore extremely limited (Jary, 1991: 142). Jary indicates that research endowed by Giddens with "the structuralist seal of approval were neither carried out under the auspices of structuration theory nor, equally importantly, did they always conspicuously combine accounts of structure and agency" (1991: 142).

Jary further argues that Giddens' conception of agency implies that while agents have the ability to construct and reconstruct social arrangements, there is no acknowledgement that these constructions can be "captured by law-like propositions or general mechanisms," so that structure "collapses into agency" (1991: 145). This criticism mirrors criticisms raised against role theory, in which application of social sanctions relies not on the demands of social roles, but on the choice of individual actors to apply those sanctions. Despite the limitations of the theory, it does provide useful specifications through which to interpret the actions of individuals within the confines of existing social structures (or systems), and in this way offers crucial insight to the data analysis.

Work-Family Borders

In my initial passes through the data during the coding stage, I recognized patterns in the way that the self-employed women in the study organized their work and family domains temporally, by scheduling or making decisions about the timing of their work and family activities – and spatially, by making decisions about the relative location of work and family, with a particular focus on childcare. As I continued my literature review throughout the research process, I encountered Clark's "work/family border theory", and subsequently realized that her theory, and similar models of work/family boundary maintenance, such as Nippert-Eng (1996) and Hall & Richter (1988), held important similarities with my own emerging theoretical model. I address these similarities in the next paragraph, then go on to describe Clark's model in more detail.

Throughout the remaining sections of the dissertation, the term 'work/family border models' refers to Clark's, Nippert-Eng's, and Hall & Richter's theoretical models.

In particular, Clark (2000, 2002) identifies three types of borders between work and family domains: physical, temporal, and psychological, and specifies that individuals attempt to balance their work and family domains by manipulating the borders between them. These domains are similar conceptually to the work and family careers within the life course perspective in that they are social spaces that actors live within and modify over time, rather than sets of socially-created role demands that social actors feel obligated to meet, as in role theory (Clark, 2002: 24). I had already found evidence of physical and temporal borders in my own data (although I had not labelled them in the same way), and Clark's model helped me to recognize psychological borders as well. Clark's specification of work/family border model does not include clustering of activities or distinct WFB strategies however, and it is at this point that my model of adaptive WFB strategies diverges from Clark's. My research was not informed by this theoretical model in the initial design phase, and is not a test of the model, but aspects of the model helped me to articulate patterns in my data, identify clear clusters of activities in terms of WFB strategies, and to situate my findings in the broader literature.

In my earlier discussions of the three part theoretical framework (structuration, life course, and work-family borders), I described each component of the framework as becoming more focused in describing the relationship between work and family domains. Each element of the framework acknowledges and active role for individuals in seeking balance, while highlighting the importance of social context as a potential constraint on balance. As the most micro-level component of the overall framework, the work-family border models provide very precise specifications of how individuals balance work and family demands by manipulating the borders between them. While recognizing the existence of, and necessity of combining or reconciling work and family domains, the broader components of the theoretical model (structuration theory and the life course perspective) do not describe how actors can achieve this. The work-family border models are very precise on this point – individuals achieve balance by placing, maintaining, and manipulating the physical, temporal, and psychological borders between their work and family domains. This model contributes very precise concepts through which to describe *how* women balance their work and family demands (one of the fundamental questions guiding this research project).

Clark's formulation of work-family border theory is essentially an evolution of earlier work by Hall & Richter (1988). Going against the growing literature of organizational WFB initiatives, Hall & Richter argued that in order to balance work and family workers needed more separation between work and family rather than more integration (1988: 213). As seen later in Clark's model, Hall & Richter identified physical boundaries between work and family in terms of time and location, as well as psychological boundaries demarcating distinct 'life spaces' or world views (1988: 215). Their argument for the strengthening of boundaries between work and family grew out of examples of failed attempts to facilitate WFB by making workplaces more flexible, particularly by allowing individuals to work from their own homes. They suggested that one of the main motivations for homework arrangements was that it could be "an attractive way to reduce the need for externally provided child care" (1988: 219). In reality, however, their research established that it was exceptionally difficult for workers to engage in productive work while caring for their children. They suggested that organizations could facilitate work/home balance by strengthening or legitimizing the boundaries between work and family domains to limit spill-over from one domain to another (1988: 218). Examples of legitimizing boundaries included establishing policies limiting business travel over weekends, after-hours business calls at home, and work outside of standard business hours.

Like Hall & Richter, Perlow examined the role of organizations in setting boundaries between work and family domains (1998). Perlow examined how managers control the boundaries between employees' work and family lives by "cajol(ing), encourag(ing), coerc(ing), and otherwise influence(ing) how employees divide their time between their work and nonwork spheres of life" (1998: 329). Like Hochschild (1997), Perlow examined a professional organization widely respected for its "awareness of employee's work-family concerns" (1998: 332). The organizations ostensibly allowed employees a great deal of control over their work time, but in reality used a number of techniques that put them "under enormous pressure, with little choice" about how they allocated time between their work and family domains. These techniques included setting meetings very early or late in the workday, setting deadlines to enforce high levels of work intensity and duration, restricting vacation time, directly monitoring work and requiring continuous progress reports, emphasizing the importance of "face time," and modelling long hours as necessary for promotion within the organization.

While none of these techniques directly specifies when employees have to work, they inflate work hours to such an extent that there is little time left over to spend in the family domain. Perlow found that within this intense work environment, individuals developed two distinct strategies to accommodate structural demands. 'Acceptors' sanctioned organizationally mandated boundary control, made work their first priority, and tried to meet work expectations. 'Resisters' rejected organization boundary control by establishing their own boundaries, "making themselves unavailable to work at certain times" (1998: 344). Because they did not meet implicit work demands in terms of spending adequate time in the workplace, resisters often paid a price in terms of recognition, promotions, and pay increases (1998: 345). Perlow focused on organizationally established boundaries, but also recognized a role for individuals in either accepting or rejecting those boundaries. The study acknowledged both structure and agency in the negotiation of boundaries, but concluded that agency in terms of resisting the temporal incursion of work into family time was an unwelcome and unrewarded strategy within the work domain.

Following Hall & Richter's general prescriptions for encouraging clear demarcations between work and family, Mirchandani examined how teleworkers legitimated the division between work and family by creating psychological and physical boundaries between them (1999: 93). In her study of 30 female and 20 male teleworkers, Mirchandani concluded that teleworkers viewed creating boundaries between work and non-work as vital to their ability to work from home (1999: 93). Mirchandani's found that teleworkers develop physical boundaries between work and non-work by exclusively designating rooms or specific areas within a common room only for work-related purposes. She concluded that physically separating work from non-work allowed teleworkers to maintain a psychological separation between home and work domains (1999: 93). In contrast to Hall & Richter's initial focus on organizational initiatives, Mirchandani highlighted the proactive role of teleworkers in controlling the boundaries between work and family. While the structurally enforced boundaries in Perlow's study were often unwelcomed by workers, Mirchandani's study indicated that within the relatively autonomous environment of telework, individuals often will establish their own boundaries between work and family domains. Integrating these two perspectives, Clark views both organizations and individuals as impacting upon work and family borders.

Clark's work/family border model claims that "people are border-crossers who make daily transitions between two worlds – the world of work and the world of family" (Clark, 2000: 748). The

large-scale (although not complete) separation of work from the family home through the industrial revolution created a division between the workplace and the home delimited by contrasting purposes, cultures, languages, guidelines for acceptable behaviour and differences in how to accomplish tasks (Clark, 2000: 748; Nippert-Eng, 1996: 19). Home and work represent different *domains*, which can be likened to different countries. The domains may be similar, or very different, just as two countries can share languages, customs, and currencies, or be sharply divided and distinct while still sharing a border.

Domains are separated by *borders* or *boundaries,* which come in physical, temporal, and psychological forms. Physical borders- like the walls of an office - define where domain-specific activities occur. Temporal borders, such as set hours of work, define when domain-specific activities occur and psychological borders are "rules created by individuals that dictate when thinking patterns, behaviour patterns, and emotions are appropriate for one domain but not the other" (Clark, 2000: 756). Placing and maintaining boundaries between domains is an activity – an act of agency on the part of individual border crossers. There are two kinds of border work: boundary placement and boundary transcendence (Nippert-Eng, 1996: 8). Placing borders involves establishing a division between domains, and transcending borders helps us to maintain borders by "allowing us to jump back and forth" over them. Individual discretion over boundary placement and maintenance can vary, and people with more control over their work and family domains also generally have more control over the boundaries between them (Nippert-Eng, 1996:10). Moreover, individuals with more control over their work and family borders can "negotiate and make changes" within domains in pursuit of WFB (Clark, 2000: 756).

Borders vary in their permeability, or the extent to which they allow elements of other domains to enter. Individuals who work in offices in their own homes may have physical borders delimiting their work space, such as office doors, that are highly permeable because family members can freely enter, or impermeable when the worker refuses to accept interruptions during working hours. In addition to being permeable, borders can vary in terms of *flexibility,* again in physical, temporal, and psychological terms. For example, individuals who can work whenever they choose have very flexible temporal borders, and individuals who can work wherever they choose have flexible physical borders. Psychological borders are flexible and permeable when individuals engage in ideas and emotions related to work and family freely in both domains.

Flexibility and permeability combine to establish border strength, in that borders that are impermeable and inflexible are strong, where as permeable, flexible borders are weak.

The idea that borders between work and family can be strong or weak carries over into the idea that there can be 'blending' between work and family. When blending occurs, "the area around the presupposed border is no longer exclusive of one domain or the other, but blends both work and family, creating a borderland (that) cannot be exclusively called either domain"(Clark, 2000: 757). Nippert-Eng's concept of 'integration' is similar to Clark's notion of blending, but extends beyond the border between home and family to encapsulate both domains entirely. When individuals adopt an *integrated* approach to work/family boundary control, "no distinction exists between what belongs to 'home' or 'work' and when and where they are engaged. 'Home' and 'work' are one in the same, representing one giant category of social existence" with no "conceptual boundaries" separating their contents or meanings (1996: 5). Individuals who *segment* their work and family domains, conceive of these realms as completely separate, and the boundary between them is "clear and impregnable, resolutely preserving the distinctive characteristics of each sphere" (1996: 6). Nippert-Eng acknowledges both structure and 'personal practice' in the placement of work-family boundaries. While individuals place boundaries between their work and family domains, they are influenced in their decision by "internalized, cultural images of 'home' and 'work'" and by the "social-structural constraints that emanate from both realms" (1996: 6).

Within the work/family border models there is room for both individuals and organizations to act to manipulate borders in order to facilitate the most effective division between work and family. In early organizationally-based research, Hall & Richter suggested that organizations could help workers facilitate effective work and family combination by legitimizing (or reinforcing) the boundaries between work and home (1988). Hall & Richter's research served as an integral base for Clark's theoretical model, and developed out of observations of "the daily transitions that people make as they cross the boundaries between work and home" (1988: 215). These researchers argued that workers are able to exert more control over interruptions from the home domain into the work domain than over interruptions from work to home, and it was in this area that organizations could assist workers in their effort to balance work and family. Hall & Richter (1988: 215) suggested that organizations could alleviate conflict by decreasing the physical and psychological intrusion of work into the family domain, by developing policies limiting work-to family intrusion such as early or late meetings, calls home after hours, or travel over weekends. The

overall thrust of this early model was that organizations should strengthen the division between work and family to prevent interference from work to family. Clark's version of the model incorporate roles for both workers and organizations in facilitating balance, and recognizes that there are specific work/family combinations (i.e. when the domains are similar) where strong borders are not necessary to facilitate balance.

The work-family border models provides a metaphor identifying the pursuit of WFB through border maintenance, and recognizes the structural components of work and family domains as well as the larger social context in which individuals pursue balance. Rather than describing negative emotional response resulting from the difficult combination of work and family, these models offer the opportunity to explain specific circumstances that make work/family combination difficult, and provide a blueprint for improving balance. They incorporate flexibility and control, two themes that work/family researchers have already linked conclusively to WFB, but provide a more succinct specification of how these concepts contribute to achieving balance. Like role theory, the work-family border models suggest that social structures, in this case work and family domains, influence individual behavior. There are however differences between role theory and the border models. The most significant point of departure is the opportunity for individuals to actively manipulate the borders between work and family domains. In the role theory approach, roles are imposed on individuals by unseen and intangible social processes, such as gender role socialization and workplace norms for appropriate behaviour, and individuals generally must find a way to operate within those roles. The work-family border models, in contrast, hold out a much more proactive view of individuals, arguing that rather than respond to social constraints, individuals instead act to create a more effective balance between competing demands by manipulating the borders between them. In this regard, the work-family border models align much more closely with structuration theory and the life course perspective than with role theory.

The work-family border literature is arguably less well-developed than the life course perspective. There are few empirical tests of its utility in understanding WFB, but this argument also has been raised against Giddens' structuration theory. While it is difficult to predict in advance of the analysis any shortcomings of the work-family border model, there are some components of the theory are potentially troublesome. For example the theory seems to imply that 'work' encompasses only paid employment, which offers the potential of devaluing family-related work, or labour, in the home. By specifying that work and family can share physical, temporal, and

psychological space, however, the theory does offer the opportunity to examine the particular circumstances of full-time homemakers. Also, the theory is based on the assumption that work and family domains are separate, which is similar to the 'separate spheres' model of work and family that has largely been replaced by more recent interactive models. However, Clark (2000: 757) does point out that although different, work and family systems are interconnected, and that the degree of separateness between work and family varies substantially.

Adaptive WFB Strategies

The goal of this dissertation project was to shift the research focus from negative reactions to ineffective work-family combination and search instead for information about how women balance their competing work and family demands. In order to shift this focus and find evidence of the active pursuit of balance, I sought out theoretical insights that would recognize individual agency, and preferably also provide tools for exploring the individual agency in the specific context of work-family combination. Moreover, as this is a sociological study, it was also necessary to acknowledge that even when individuals are capable of agency, they are nonetheless participants in multiple social relationships and societal contexts that can both facilitate and constrain individual agency. At increasing levels of specificity regarding the pursuit of WFB, each of the models in the theoretical framework guiding the analysis share this overall approach to structure and agency, and provide a perspective through which to understand how individuals balance work and family demands.

There are several points of convergence between the three components of the theoretical models or perspectives that facilitate their integration into one framework for analyzing WFB among self-employed women. Structuration theory and the life course perspective both acknowledge the duality of structure and agency over time and space. While Clark's original description of the work/family border model does not refer specifically to agency, it uses "influence" as an equitable term. In her model, influence refers to "autonomy and the ability to make decisions" which is essential for WFB because it "gives (individuals) the power to negotiate and make changes to the domain(s) and (their) borders" (Clark 2000: 759). Each component of the theoretical framework recognizes that individuals are active agents with the ability to make

decisions about and to varying degrees control their surroundings, and in this way they can each accommodate a role for adaptive work/family strategies.

Within the life course perspective, human agency essentially means that "people are planful and make choices among options that construct their life course" (Elder, 1994: 6). Within structuration theory, individual human agency is represented in actions that individuals take based on their own "interests, purposes, values, and motives" (Walsh, 1998:12). For Giddens, those actions are both creative and transformative (Craib, 1991: 35). Individual actors "continuously monitor" their thoughts and activities, and develop motivations, which provide "plans for action." Based on these plans, individuals act, and those actions represent agency, as agency encompasses "the things that agents actually do" (Ritzer, 1992: 431). In other words, agency involves making decisions based on personal motivations, and then implementing some kind of change based on those decisions. The ability to make choices and implement change are crucial features of how I use the concept of control in this study. In this study, I combine influence, agency, and autonomy into the concept of control, defined earlier in this Chapter as *the ability to make decisions and implement changes within work and family domains*. Defining control in this way provides the opportunity to match reports of objective behaviour with statements about perceived levels of control, unpacking the concept and treating it in a more theoretically-based and analytical way.

Both life course and structuration theorists identify a reciprocal relationship between structure and agency. Kruger & Baldus (1999: 356) argue that the life course perspective "is of theoretical relevance for the structure-agency debate in sociology because tracking multiple dimensions of life course development over an extended period of time makes it very clear that (both) structure and personal action determine the life course." Giele & Elder (1998: 7) suggest that the life course perspective developed out of a need to "integrate the structural and dynamic approaches in a cohesive way" in order to "(take) into account the many levels of social structure and, at the same time, comprehend dynamic change." While both social structure and personal agency both independently contribute to developments within an individual life course, they also work reciprocally, through "exchange processes and negotiations between organizations and status occupants" (Heinz, 1988: 11). The work-family border models also acknowledge differential impacts of structure and agency in border placement and maintenance, but incorporate a more

localized focus, with structure emanating from employing organizations rather than society on a broader level.

All of the models acknowledge that gender impacts on individual progression through life. Work-family border theorists have identified that men and women create and maintain borders differently, in that women tend to create more rigid boundaries between home and work than men (Mirchandani, 1999: 98). These rigid boundaries evolve out of women's greater domestic responsibilities in that imposing clear divisions between work and family prevents work from intruding on family time and space (Mirchandani, 1999: 98). Life course theorists have identified clear differences in male and female career trajectories, with time off for family events (such as caring for children) differentially impacting on female progression through the life course, with significant long-term implications in terms of wages, promotions, pensions, and life time earnings. Within structuration theory gender plays a pivotal role in determining scope of choice. Giddens argues, "women today have the nominal opportunity to follow a variety of possibilities and chances: yet, in a masculinist culture, many of these avenues remain effectively foreclosed" (1991: 106). Thus while women have choice, their range of choices and opportunities for constructing their own biographies are relatively limited by existing (male-dominated) social structures.

While internally consistent along a number of themes that are central to the overall analysis, the elements of the theoretical framework also contribute to addressing the project's basic research questions. Insights from the literature review and theoretical framework make it possible to both expand and refine these questions. Given that this study involved a shift in focus toward balance rather than conflict, the most basic question guiding the study was:

What does work and family balance mean to self-employed women?

The purpose of this question was to uncover how women who are trying to meet their competing work and family demands define balance in their own terms. This provided an opportunity to write women's experiences into the academic literature, and I did not seek to filter either this question or women's responses through any particular theoretical model.

Beyond assessing personal definitions of WFB, this study sought to answer:

How do women balance their work and family demands? What strategies do they use?

The work-family border models were particularly informative on this point. They essentially provided terminology that I could use to describe the patterns in how women managed to meet competing demands – particularly in terms of whether to segment or integrate their work and family domains over physical, temporal, and psychological boundaries. Organizing WFB strategies along these dimensions made it possible refine the original research questions to include:

Are there identifiable patterns in the way women balance their work and family demands?

The analysis chapters will show that there were clear patterns in WFB among the women in the study. The existence of those patterns led to further questions about why those particular patterns existed, or more specifically:

How do women choose their particular WFB strategy? What factors motivate their strategy choice?

Structuration theory and the life course perspective were both useful in addressing these questions, as they highlighted the role of social context in impacting on individual agency and decision-making. Recall from the analytical framework that I argue that individuals seek to achieve WFB at the intersection of work and family, and further, that all of this occurs within a social context. The social context provides norms, values, opportunities and constraints that impact on all of the elements within the analytical framework, and each element within the framework both impacts on and is impacted by WFB (represented by the bi-directional arrows between components in the framework). Structuration theory and the life course perspective highlight the impact of the social and historical context on individual actions. The life course perspective further emphasizes the impact of linked lives (especially those of family members), and of the timing of earlier life events on later ones. Within this framework there are multiple possible sources of motivation for choosing a strategy for balancing work and family. Interview respondents identified work demands, the desire to be available to children, and personal preferences as the most salient motivations for making work and family decisions. I discuss these motivations for boundary placement in Chapters eight and nine.

Finally, in addition to being a study of WFB, this was also a study of self-employed women, and whether or how self-employment, might impact on WFB. I have argued throughout the preceding Chapters that self-employment offers at least some access to both flexibility and control, and that WFB researchers claim that access to these features within a work arrangement will facilitate WFB. These concepts add an additional dimension to the analysis of WFB strategy decisions, and make it possible to answer:

> *What impact, if any, does self-employment have on WFB? More specifically, how do self-employed women use control and flexibility in pursuit of WFB?*

In order to be able to manipulate the physical, temporal, and psychological borders between work and family domains, border crossers must have some control over those borders. Examining whether and how self-employed women use control to set and maintain borders, and how much flexibility they incorporate into those borders adds an additional refinement to the discussion of WFB strategy decisions.

Applying the Framework to Self-Employed Mothers

Although the three components of the theoretical framework do not address self-employment specifically, researchers using these models acknowledge a role for control and flexibility in contributing to WFB. Within Clark's work-family border model, 'influence' is conceptually similar to control and refers to "autonomy and the ability to make choices" – which facilitates WFB. In addition to influence, individuals have high levels of 'identification' with their domains when "their identity is closely tied with their membership in the domain" a feature arguably dominant within self-employment. Clark (2000: 756) argues that when a person's identity is "closely tied with membership in the domain, their motivation to manage borders and domains increases," and actively managing borders increases WFB. Influence and identification increase the motivation for and actual level of control within a domain, and individuals use control to manage borders in pursuit of WFB. Applying a life course perspective to understand how couples adapt work and family strategies over differing life stages, Becker & Moen (1998: 20) found that "'flexibility' was the overwhelmingly dominant theme in respondents' discourse about their work and family lives." Participants in Becker & Moen's study identified flexibility as crucial in establishing

"ideal work and family arrangements," and in their own "strategies" for making work and family decisions (1998: 20).

Feminist researchers have documented substantial variation in the experience of self-employment by gender. Gender-based differences in self-employment exist in many forms, and start with motivations to enter this work arrangement. As outlined in Chapter two, while both men and women are most likely to cite 'independence' as the prime motivation to enter self-employment, women are significantly more likely to cite scheduling flexibility and the ability to work from home as important motivating factors. While more recent researchers have established that combining home-based self-employment with childcare is exceptionally difficult (Jurik, 1998: 30; Phizackea & Wolkowitz, 1995: 17), it was common for researchers in the 1980s to argue that home-based self-employment offered substantial promise for combining entrepreneurship with the care and supervision of children (Beach, 1989; Christensen, 1988; Hisrich & Brush, 1986). Women are more likely to enter self-employment for family reasons, and are more likely to try to combine self-employment with family care, but they pay a heavy price for their efforts. Self-employed women are more likely to work on their own without employees, to work part-time hours, to earn less money than self-employed men, and in the case own-account businesses, self-employed women also earn less on average than employed women (Hughes, 1999: 22-24).

The disadvantaged economic position of self-employed women, and own-account self-employed women in particular, raises important questions about the 'choice' to enter self-employment, and relates issues of gender to the broader debate of structure and agency in self-employment. Issues of structure and agency are most visible in discussions of self-employment in terms of whether individuals are 'pushed' or 'pulled' into the work arrangement. Being 'pushed' into self-employment implies that individuals enter this work arrangement when no other options are available (Statistics Canada, 1997b: 35). Recall from Chapter two that only 'independence' and 'family business', are more common motivators to enter self-employment than 'no other work available' suggesting that the 'choice' to enter self-employment is limited for substantial numbers of self-employed Canadians. Given women's entrenched responsibility for domestic and child-rearing tasks, and the inflexibility of employment structures designed for unencumbered males, it seems clear that the "choice" to enter self-employment at least partially results from the push of structural constraint – at least for some women.

The preceding discussion suggests that access to flexibility and control will vary substantially among the women in the study. Given the underlying role of flexibility and control in establishing WFB strategies, it also suggests that despite their shared work and family arrangements, the women in this study will adopt very different approaches to managing their work and family demands. The analysis Chapters address the heterogeneity of WFB strategies among participants in this study.

This Chapter concludes my discussion of the social, academic, and theoretical context for the study. The remaining Chapters describe and analyze the original research project that forms the substantive basis for this dissertation. Chapter six describes my methodological approach and research method. Chapter seven discusses respondents' definitions of "work and family balance" and suggests opportunities for future conceptual development. Chapters eight and nine identify and examine WFB strategies (border preferences and primary motivations) through the theoretical framework. Chapter ten explores similarities and differences between the WFB strategies used by the women participating in this research project. Finally, Chapter eleven discusses the place of this research project within the overall work-family literature.

CHAPTER 6 - RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In the preceding Chapters, I identified important gaps in our understanding of WFB, particularly as it relates to the experiences of self-employed women. In addition, after outlining and critiquing the common theoretical approaches WFB, I proposed an alternative theoretical framework that can highlight the active process of developing and altering WFB strategies over time, and in response to structural constraints. In this Chapter, I summarize the methodological approach and research methods that I used to uncover information in pursuit of the main goals of the research project: to find out what 'work and family balance' means to self-employed women, and to uncover the strategies that self-employed women use to meet or balance their work and family demands.

My progress through the research process was both inductive and iterative, and involved ongoing review and analysis of the literature, the data, and the analytical and theoretical frameworks throughout. During this process I continued reviewing the literature, and added new insights from the literature to the study. I adopted the work-family border models after completing the data collection, but was able to incorporate key insights into the final framework, and used them to supplement the data analysis.

I went into the field in search of information regarding how self-employed women achieve WFB, rather than how they react to it. At this early stage in the research process I was using insights from the life course perspective and structuration theory, but had not yet located the literature on adaptive strategies or work-family border theory, so my data collection was only partially informed by my final theoretical model. Because I entered the field with the view that I wanted to uncover or explore WFB strategies, rather than confirm them, I chose to use a qualitative interview-based approach with a set of predetermined but open-ended questions. My goal with this approach was to gain "access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher," letting my respondents speak for themselves (Reinharz, 1992: 19). The project did not directly test any predetermined hypotheses, and involved an interaction between the data and new and emerging theoretical insights throughout, and incorporated a modified grounded theory approach to data collection and analysis.

Methodology

'Methodology' is a way of thinking about and studying social reality while 'research methods' refer to the procedures and techniques that researchers use to gather and analyze data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 3). I will discuss my research methods in the next section. The overall methodology of this research project is qualitative, in that I sought to generate findings based on a "nonmathematical process of interpretation" that would allow me to discover concepts and relationships in the data that I could organize into a "theoretical explanatory scheme," and also relate to existing theories of WFB (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 11). Although there is a substantial literature examining issues related to WFB, I felt that there was a great deal of room to explore balancing strategies – as opposed to reactive coping mechanisms. My choice of methodology was driven partly by the nature of the research problem: research that attempts to understand the meaning or nature of experiences of people in unique social situations lends itself to getting into the field and finding out what people are doing and thinking (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 11). It also offered an opportunity to build upon a relatively underutilized methodology within the work-family literature.

The work-family literature is broad and diverse, and researchers have used a number of methodological approaches. The majority of research papers included in the literature review incorporated positivist, quantitative methodologies and self-administered survey-based data collection methods, testing pre-established theories and hypotheses. Within this general approach there is variation in data collection and specificity. A number of researchers established national-level trends regarding work-family issues by using secondary data sets. Researchers using this approach gained data from a range of large national-level data sets including Statistics Canada's Survey of Work Arrangements (Arai, 2000); 1980 American Census (Carr, 1996); the National Longitudinal Study of Labour Market Experience (Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998); the Current Population Survey (Edwards, 2001); the National Survey of Midlife Development in the United States (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Grzywacz, Almeida & McDonald, 2002); the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 (Hundley, 2000); the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (Marshall, 1999); the General Social Survey (Milkie & Peltola, 1999); the National Study of the Changing Workforce, (Moen & Yu, 2000); and the National Survey of Families and Households (Voydanoff, 1999).

Large national data sets offer the opportunity to examine trends at the national level, and researchers can use results from these studies to estimate population parameters. In some cases, researchers had access to data from a number of time periods, allowing some longitudinal analysis. A substantial draw-back of this approach is that researchers are not able to build their own conceptual definitions or research questions into the data collection. This can lead to a mismatch between required variables, or preferred unit of analysis. Nonetheless, for researchers seeking to establish population parameters at very low cost, this can be an effective methodological approach.

Researchers who want to estimate population parameters, but build their own research questions into the data, often generate custom surveys and collect their own data. Among the studies covered in the literature review were several studies using this approach, including Barnett, 1994; Danes, 1999; Eagle, Icenogle, Maes, & Miles, 1998; Erdwins, 2001; Home, 1997; Higgins & Duxbury, 1994; Lee, Duxbury & Higgins, 1994; Loscocco & Leicht, 1993; Marks & McDermid, 1996; O'Neil & Greenberger, 1994; Phizaclea & Wolkowitz, 1995; Stoner, Hartman and Arora, 1990; Tingey & Kiger, 1996; and Warren & Johnson, 1995, among others. Researchers using this approach adopt a positivist methodology, and seek to verify hypothesized relationships between predefined variables. This approach brings the researchers much closer to the data than the secondary-data method, in that they are able to directly test their own research questions, with a preferred sample and unit of analysis. While random sample surveys using both primary and secondary data are very common in the WFB literature, they are based on a methodology that is inappropriate for the present study. Although very effective for testing relationships between quantifiable variables, they are less effective in exploring and building theoretical understanding.

Focusing at the organizational level of analysis, a number of researchers have examined how employers compare in their development and use of family friendly policies, and how these relate to organizational profitability. Researchers using this approach include Meyer, Mukerjee & Sestero, 2001; and Milliken, Martins & Morgan, 1998. While informative, this approach is not particularly appropriate to the current study, as the unit of analysis is the individual self-employed woman rather than her small business.

Although relatively uncommon among studies included in the literature review, some researchers used focus groups to supplement data collected through questionnaires and interviews. These studies include Buttnor & Moore, 1997, and Becker & Moen, 1998. Multi-

method studies are unique in their ability to gain access to information and build validity into the research findings, particularly when they combine alternative methodologies. Researchers using representative quantitative data can build depth into their analysis by incorporating open-ended interviews or focus groups into their data collection, for example. It would have been possible to build focus groups into the current study, but because of the overlap in methodology and type of data, this type of multi-method approach would not have been particularly effective.

Rounding out the research approaches common in the work-family literature are qualitatively-based studies incorporating interviews, utilized by Clark, 2000; Green & Cohen, 1995; Jurik, 1998; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Perlow, 1998; and Winsor & Ensher, 2000. The current study falls within this approach. As indicated earlier, this study involved building a new model of WFB by searching for proactive balancing strategies. Because it allows for modification and reaction to building and changing developments throughout the research project, the qualitative, interview-based approach was the most appropriate methodological combination for this study.

Each method has its own strengths and weaknesses, and is variably appropriate given its utility to the researchers' goals and fundamental research questions. Researchers hoping to generalize findings to national populations while minimizing data collection costs utilize secondary data from existing studies. Researchers who want to generalize clearly specified quantifiable hypotheses that cannot be tested through secondary data often generate their own self-administered questionnaires and samples (Babbie, 1995: 257). Researchers attempting to explore contextualized personal experiences in heterogeneous and situationally constrained contexts often use more qualitative, responsive, open-ended methods including interviews and focus groups (Neuman, 1997: 14).

Although there clearly is a wealth of data available regarding work-family combination, particularly among employees, there is also a substantial gap in our understandings of the personal meaning of WFB (as opposed to conflict), of strategies that individuals develop in pursuit of balance, how those strategies develop over time, and how each of these relate to self-employment. These gaps identified the need to explore (rather than verify) answers to the core research questions. Because my study involved generating a new theoretical approach to understanding WFB, and was motivated by a lacunae of information on how women develop WFB strategies, I utilized qualitatively motivated face-to-face interviews that I could adapt to follow the particular stories of each participant.

As so much preceding research on work and family balance among self-employed women has utilized survey data, the interviews were necessary to provide more detailed, personalized accounts of the experiences of individual self-employed women, and to document how they "perceive, cope with and make sense of" those experiences (Green & Cohen, 1995: 298). The aim of the project was to gather accounts from women who are trying to combine self-employment and family obligations, and to document how they do this. In-depth interviews provided the opportunity to elicit and document experiences that may have been previously unspoken and "only partly conscious" (De Vault, 1999: 64). Because these practices have not yet been documented, it would have been difficult to effectively anticipate their existence in a survey instrument (Stevenson, 1990:442) Moreover, Stevenson argues that much research of female entrepreneurs has relied upon instruments designed to capture the experiences of male entrepreneurs, making little attempt to "discover the world of the woman as business owner, but impose on her an already structured perception of the world of the business owner based on male-centered" conceptions (1990: 442). A further argument in favour of collecting qualitative data through interviews was to contribute to our understanding of the heterogeneity of self-employment, because "quantitative surveys also provide the temptation to develop profiles of the 'typical' women entrepreneur. This kind of analysis misses the diverse nature of female entrepreneurs and further enhances stereotypical notions" (Stevenson, 1990: 442).

The methodological approach that I used for this study has a number of strengths. One of the most commonly identified of these is its ability to contextually situate data. Qualitative methods "focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings" allowing us to capture "real life" with much more vivid descriptions than those resulting from more quantitative approaches (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 10). Rather than drawing inferences from the relationship between individual characteristics (or 'variables' in quantitative terms), qualitative researchers can go beyond questions of "what" and "how many" to answer how and why things happen as they do. Qualitative studies are also very flexible, and allow the researcher to adapt theoretically and methodologically to unanticipated events while in the field (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 10). They also are more adept at eliciting "the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract through more conventional research methods" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 11). Qualitative research is particularly valuable when the researcher is exploring new concepts and has very little substantive foundation from which to generate hypotheses – given

the current level of information available about WFB, particularly among self-employed women, the qualitative methodological approach was particularly relevant in this regard. It also works effectively with the feminist perspective, and its aim to write rich descriptions of female experience into a research area (self-employment) that has in the past been limited by a distinct gender bias (Stevenson, 1990; Green & Cohen, 1995).

In summary, using a qualitative, interview-based approach to data collection had two general benefits for the current research project. First, it provided rich, contextually sensitive data. This type of data was essential in addressing the fundamental research problem – a lack of theoretical understanding about *how* women balance their work and family demands. Interactive, situationally-sensitive interviews made it possible to explore unanticipated statements with respondents, facilitating theory generation in an area that suffered from a lack of information about the particular experiences of self-employed women. Second, relying on a qualitative methodological viewpoint, that did not require random sampling allowed me to overcome an important technical limitation of working with this population: because there is no complete population list of self-employed women it would be exceptionally difficult to generate a random sample upon which to base a more quantitative study.

Utilizing a qualitative approach also implies a number of limitations, particularly when compared to quantitative approaches. First, the non-random sampling method ensures that the results of this study cannot be generalized to any larger population. Given that my goal with this research was to study the process of WFB rather than estimate population parameters, this was not a fundamental limitation. Second, I was concerned about whether or not I would be able to gather enough data to substantiate the research questions with a sample of twenty-four women and a proposed interview of approximately one hour. The participants in this research project were very busy women, managing both work and family tasks within substantial time constraints, a problem commonly experienced by researchers studying the self-employed (Loscocco & Leicht, 1993: 880).

During my initial contact with potential participants, I asked them if they would have about an hour to complete an interview for the study. I felt that asking them to complete a one-hour interview might be a substantial burden on their time. During many of the interviews we approached the one-hour time limit before we had a chance to get through the entire interview schedule. In each case I indicated that our time had run out, and in only one instance did my

respondent ask to end the interview at that time, all other women agreed to continue the interview to its conclusion. Because of the generosity of the participants in the study I was able to gather substantial amounts of data. Although qualitative studies can involve interviews with much larger samples (such as Lee et. al.'s interview based study of 300 employed mothers), published accounts of other qualitative studies of WFB used similar and smaller samples and interviews of similar length. For example, Green & Cohen (1995) conducted twenty-four interviews that lasted approximately one and a half hours in length, while Winsor & Ensher (2000) published an article based on two interviews with two women over a sixteen-year period. Obviously there is a substantial range within qualitative research in terms of the amount of data collected for a study, and my sample size and interview lengths fit comfortably within this range.

Initially I planned to utilize a grounded theory methodology, essentially because this approach is designed to allow theoretical models to emerge from the data. Because I was searching for individual proactive WFB strategies, an approach uncommon in the existing literature, I assumed that I would uncover novel information and generate a theoretical model or typology from my data, and this is a central goal of grounded theory methodology. In line with this methodological approach, I did begin to formulate my typology of WFB strategies early in the interview process. However, there are several elements of the grounded theory approach that I did not incorporate into the study. Most notably, rather than generating a theoretical sample based on the theory as it emerged through the interviews, and seeking out participants to further explore the emerging theory, I established my sampling frame prior to entering the field (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 73). In addition, I supplemented my own emerging theory with work/family border theory because it offered crucial insights for framing the analysis, so my typology is a mixture of my own observations and an already existing theory. Clark's work/family border model article was published after my proposal defense, and was not part of the original formulation of this study. In other words, I was developing my own typology of WFB strategies when I located Clark's work-family border model, and her model confirmed and corroborated what I had already discovered in my data. In the end, rather than using theory methodology, I used a modified grounded theoretical approach combining qualitative interview data with my own emerging theoretical typology and a relevant existing theoretical model.

I generally agree with the critical realist position that there is a reality 'out there' that I can study, but that because of limitations in the way people recall their own history and the difficulty of

putting that history into words, it is difficult to truly capture and understand that reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 9; Guba & Lincoln, 1994: 105). However, by developing a responsive data collection instrument to guide conversations with my research participants, I attempted to illicit comparable self-histories from a diverse group of women in order to generate as complete a description as possible of the focus of the research project (WFB). Rather than explain my findings through the presentation of summary statistical data, I will present much more detailed explanations of the milieu in which self-employed women balance their work and family demands. While positivistic research, designed to quantify human experience, can be exceptionally rigorous, it often leaves important points of context out of the reach of researchers and information consumers. For example, in statistical analysis of large representative data sets, Arai (2000), Boden (1999), Carr (1996), Marshall (1999) all found that young children are positively associated with female self-employment. While this finding is consistent and useful, it does not allow the researchers to fully explicate *how* self-employed women with small children manage to fulfil their competing work and family obligations. In other words, these studies present a very limited view of the daily enactment of work and family life. My goal is to "excavate" the process of WFB, and to "articulate what has been hidden or unacknowledged" (DeVault, 1999: 55). Exploring the unique overlap between WFB and self-employment will make it possible to write women's experiences of balancing work and family demands into both the general work-family and self-employment literatures, offering a substantial contribution to both areas

Research Design

In collecting data for this research project, I used semi-structured, open-ended interviews, supplemented with a short pen and paper questionnaire to gather basic demographic and factual information. Respondents filled out the questionnaire while I set up and tested my recording equipment, prior to the interview. I interviewed twenty-four self-employed women, twelve with employees ("employer") and twelve who worked without employees ('own-account'). It is exceptionally difficult to outline in advance of data collection a sample size that is both realistic in terms of the resources of a research project, and sufficient to both capture conceptual variation and make substantive conclusions. Even researchers renowned in the field of qualitative research methods are reluctant to explicitly state the size of an ideal sample (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 292).

Ideally the sample will be large enough to allow the research to reach a stage of "theoretical saturation," where successive interviews do not reveal any new information, or findings that cannot be accounted for within the emerging theoretical framework (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 292). Strauss & Corbin apply the standard of theoretical saturation within the framework of grounded theory. The grounded theory approach involves an intense interplay between data collection and theory generation, in which the researcher builds theory throughout the data collection process. While my research was guided by a theoretical framework including elements of life course and structuration perspectives, I did seek to uncover a theoretical model of WFB strategies through the research process and in that sense this research project incorporated part of the grounded theory approach. In contrast with Strauss & Corbin's approach to grounded theory, however, I did not specifically utilize theoretical sampling (sampling based on emerging concepts, in order to explore the dimensions along which those concepts vary), because I had specified the characteristics of my sample prior to entering the field. I will explain the sampling procedure and motivations in the next section.

In offering guidelines for sufficient sample size, Strauss & Corbin (1998: 136) argue that continued data collection will always add some new information to the overall process, but the value of the new information diminishes over time, so that eventually continued data collection becomes counter-productive. During the data collection phase very clear patterns of WFB strategies began to emerge in terms of segmenting and integrating work and family domains based on work demands, family demands, or individual preferences (I will discuss these in detail in the analysis section). As the interviews continued, I did not encounter any work-family strategies outside of this general framework, and thus repeated interviews were not adding substantially unique information. Based on Strauss & Corbin's (1998: 136) guidelines for theoretical saturation, I am confident that twenty-four interviews were sufficient to substantiate the emerging WFB strategies.

In the sections below I describe the sample and how I accessed participants, the data collection instrument, and the data analysis process. Because the sample size and sampling method preclude generalization to a larger population, it was important to reflect the diverse range of experiences of self-employed mothers by recognizing and attempting to capture some of the diversity within this work arrangement. I did this by sampling both employer and own-account women, in four distinct industrial categories. The heterogeneity of self-employment implies

substantial diversity in experience, and recognizing, and attempting to capture this diversity, contributes to the goal of the project by capturing and documenting the experiences of women in a wide range of situations.

One of the most fundamental goals in adding heterogeneity to the sample (though status and industrial categories) was to incorporate diversity in terms of *flexibility* and *control over work* among the respondents. Ideally diversity within those dimensions would allow a fuller exploration of their impact on the WFB strategies used by self-employed women, facilitating answers to the core research questions. While diversity in the sample is important, it also is important to recognize that I was not seeking to systematically address all of the potential work arrangements within self-employment. For example, although I did not seek specifically to include women in family businesses in the sample, I did not exclude them from the sample either - the primary reason for this choice is that I am examining the work and family experiences of self-employed women - the sampling unit is the woman, not her family - and in this sense, the employment status of her marriage partner is not theoretically relevant to the emerging discussion.

The Participants

Because a number of researchers have identified the problematic interchangeable use of terminology in self-employment research, it is important to establish how I used 'self-employment' as a selection criteria for the sample (Arai, 2000; Dale, 1991; Hughes, 1999; Lee-Gosselin & Grise, 1990; Lowe & Schellenberg, 2002; Stevensen, 1990). Lowe and Schellenberg (2002: 13) argue that one of the drivers of the conceptual confusion regarding self-employment as a category emerges from diversity within own-account self-employment. There is substantial variation within this category ranging from truly independent free-lance workers with multiple clients to disguised-employee contractors who are essentially tied to one organization, but responsible for their own income taxes and benefits. Although I did not purposefully seek variation (or homogeneity) among the own-account women in the sample in terms of numbers of clients, I do discuss aspects of their work arrangements in the analysis Chapters.

All of the women participating in the study both owned (in whole or in part) their business enterprises, and also actively worked within these businesses at least part time (owner-operated).

None of the women in the study were employed in businesses outside of their own small businesses, and were thus all exclusively self-employed.

Within the category of self-employment, the women worked in a number of different work arrangements, in terms of external affiliation, location, and scheduling of work. Five of the women worked in conjunction with agencies that provided them with administrative support, general business assistance, access to training materials, and in some cases, office space. This group included two women in home-based retail sales, and three women in health (two midwives and a psychologist). Two women in the retail industry owned and operated franchise stores. One woman operated a web-design company that started as a spin-off from her previous employer, and one left a position within a bank as a financial planner to work independently as a financial planner from home. Two women fell within the category of 'disguised employee contractor' in that they worked exclusively for single client businesses, and within those arrangements did not have exclusive control over their own schedules or income generating potential. One participant bought an ongoing manufacturing and retail business, and the remaining twelve participants established their own start-up businesses.

Sampling frame

The target population for the study was self-employed mothers with both dependent children and an adult partner living in the home, and who had been self-employed for at least one year. All women in the sample met these specifications. In developing the sampling frame, I had to balance the need to conduct a realistic, temporally and economically feasible study with the goal of incorporating a diverse range of experiences into the data. The following table summarizes variability in key characteristics of the sample:

Table 2: Variation in Selection Criteria

Respondent Characteristic	Variation
Gender	Female only
Marital Status	Married or Common Law (opposite or same-sex partner)
Dependent Children	Age 0-18 years
Tenure in Self-Employment	At least one year
Self-Employment Status	Own-Account or Employer
Industry	Retail, Business Services, Health, Other

Gender

I limited my sample to self-employed mothers (and excluded self-employed fathers) for a number of reasons:

1) Women are more likely than men to enter self-employment because of family considerations (Akyeampong & Usalcas, 1997; Carr, 1996).
2) Women report higher levels of work/family conflict than men (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Crosby, 1991; Duxbury et. al., 1991; Erdwins, 2001).
3) Although the trend levelled-off at the end of the 1990s, women currently are entering self-employment at higher rates than men (Statistics Canada, 1997a).
4) Women are significantly more likely than men to have primary responsibility for, and devote more time to elements of the home domain, particularly household chores and childcare, giving them a larger burden of work at home to balance with paid work outside of the home (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: 21).
5) While gendered comparisons would contribute to our understanding of WFB, the resources available for this project are too limited to support a sample large enough to make these comparisons useful.

Marital Status

I limited the sample to women with adult partners in the home, either husbands, common-law husbands, or same-sex partners (although none of the women in the sample had same-sex partners). The rationale for this choice was to create some similarity in the sample in regards to support in raising children. Given the small sample size it was important to allow for variability in some respondent characteristics while keeping others equal across the sample. Ideally the presence of another adult in the home would mean that the women in the sample would have some access to support in terms of childcare. In general, this assumption is validated in the WFB literature (Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998: 13; Erdwins, 2001: 235; Lee, Duxbury & Higgins, 1994: 3).

There is some basis in the general WFB and self-employment literatures for distinguishing between single and married mothers. Loscocco & Leicht (1993: 885) found that single mothers generate higher income from their businesses than married women. However, among employed parents, Duxbury & Higgins found that single mothers and fathers did not experience any more role

strain than married parents, and spent the same amount of time in total work and family activities as did married parents (1994: 456-457).

Including only women with an adult partner in the sample was not based on a pre-defined definition of what constitutes a family, but rather was based on limiting variability within the sample. If the central research questions were related to marital status rather than self-employment, then variation in this variable would have been conceptually justified, but given limitations in the sample size and the focus of the research questions, variation in this characteristic was not necessary.

Age of Dependent Children

I limited the sample to mothers of dependent children (under eighteen years old) because these women are likely to experience more intense needs to balance work and family issues than are women with children no longer in the home. In this study, a necessary component of the 'family' variable is thus the *presence* of dependent children in the home. It is possible to argue that children who are eighteen years old are not truly dependent on their parents, and they certainly do not require as much intense care-giving as infants or very young children. In fact the number of hours that parents spend with their children varies substantially by age. Overall mothers spend more time per day with children (regardless of age) than do fathers. Preschool aged children (birth to four years) spend 6.4 hours per day with their mothers and 4.3 hours with their fathers (Johnson, Lero & Rooney, 2001: 59). When children are five to eight years old, they spend five hours per day with their mothers and 3.4 hours with their fathers. By the time they reach age thirteen, they are with their mothers 2.6 hours per day and with their fathers 2.7 hours each day (Johnson, Lero & Rooney, 2001: 59). Clearly mothers spend more time with children than do fathers, and the amount of time they spend decreases over time, so there are substantial differences in the amount of time that mothers spend with children of different ages.

An alternative to specifying eighteen as the upper age limit within the sample would have been to set a younger age limit for children, based on the logic that younger children require more care, and more intense efforts to balance work and family. One such alternative would be to limit the sample only to women with children who have not yet reached school age. Work/family researcher have established that for self-employed women, having preschool aged children increases hours spent in housework and decreases earnings, an effect that decreases with the age of dependent children (Hundley, 2001: 825). But limiting the sample based on age of children

rather than the presence of children has its own limitations. An unfortunate side-effect of restricting children's ages would be to limit access to information about how WFB strategies change over time along with the changing needs of children. Given that this study sought to explore WFB over the life course, it was thus essential to incorporate women at various stages of the life course into the sample. In addition, while the types of care may change over time, the experiences of the women in the study confirm that even older children do require their parents' attention. One respondent, who entered self-employment when her children were ten and thirteen years old, explained that even at fifteen and eighteen years of age, they were still dependent on her:

> They don't need to be dressed anymore. But there's other social things and other things that they need and as the children, as they're growing into young adults, they ... I really see the need for them to have a, to have a person home, an adult home even if they're off watching TV. It's, it's totally gives them a feeling of support and structure (Shelley, employer, retail)

It also was important not to exclude women with older children in the sample to reflect the fact that while research has shown that the presence of young children is positively associated with entry into self-employment, not all women enter self-employment when their children are young. While Carr argued that the presence of young children was strongly associated with female self-employment, only 6.8% of her sample had children younger than six, while 42.6% had children birth to seventeen years of age (1996: 33). At least two women in the present study chose to enter self-employment after their children entered their early teen years, both with the specific aim of tailoring their work arrangements around the needs of their children. Finally, because this research was exploratory in nature, it was important to allow some variety in the intensity of child care to explore how WFB might vary with the age of children (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 214). Because the data collection for the study involved a retrospective recounting of work and family events over the life course, I felt that limiting the sample to women with younger children would limit access to data about how strategies change over time as the needs of children change.

Tenure in Self-Employment

I chose to establish a minimum tenure of one year for two reasons. First, the initial start-up phase of a small business can require particularly heavy investments of time and energy. During this phase of the business the self-employed mother might experience acute difficulties in

balancing work and family that could dissipate over time. Second, establishing a one-year tenure limit serves as a proxy measure of stability in the business, and is relatively common within the self-employment literature (Buttnor & Moore, 1997: 38; Stoner, Hartman & Arora, 1990: 33).

Self-Employment Status

Distinguishing between OA (own-account, or solo self-employed) and Employer self-employed women is relevant on a number of grounds. As indicated in the discussion of marital status, self-employment is a key component of the research questions, and given the limited sample size I chose to focus sample variation in terms of characteristics of self-employment rather than on the demographic characteristics of participants. The division between OA and Employer contributes to diversity within the sample and provided access to a broad range of self-employment experiences. OA women earn less money, are more likely to work part-time, and are more likely to work out of their own homes than employer self-employed (Cohen, 1996: 25; Hughes, 1999: 28). They are also fully responsible for the operation their businesses and are unable to delegate tasks to employees – this feature of own-account self-employment may limit flexibility within the work arrangement, and thus potentially limit WFB. Based on income discrepancies, OA and Employer SE women may have divergent access to support systems that might contribute to their ability to meet work and family demands (ability to afford quality childcare, or supplemental domestic help, for example).

WFB researchers have concluded that many women enter self-employment in order to balance work and family based on their propensity to work part-time and out of their homes. The division along these measures between OA and Employer self-employed suggests that entry motivations, and hence perceptions and experiences of W/F combination, may differ between these groups. The flexibility of part-time and home-based work may differentially impact upon the ability to combine work and family - this is crucially important to the theoretical discussion. On a more practical level, this division situates the research in the current SE literature by recognizing the heterogeneity within self-employment, and will allow comparison to and elaboration of existing research that also utilizes this division (Hughes, 1999; Statistics Canada, 1997a; Statistics Canada, 1997b).

I categorized participants as own-account if they operated their businesses individually, did not distribute any wages to other individuals (including family members), did not supervise the work

of other individuals, and did not provide administrative support or business advice to others within the same organization. Self-employed women who belonged to home-based retail sales organizations that had recruited a number of additional members into the organization, distributed their earnings, and provided administrative and business assistance were classified as employers in the study, as were women who hired individuals to assist them in their businesses. Recruitment/hiring, supervision, and support of subordinates distinguished employer from own-account self-employed in the sample.

Industry

Recognizing diversity based on industrial location also was important, particularly because there is obvious clustering of Canadian female self-employment. Overall about 80% of self-employed women work in the service sector (Hughes, 1999: 18). Within the service sector, four industries account for 66% of female Employer self-employed, and 82.2% of female Own-Account self-employed – Retail Trade, Business Services, Other Services, and Health and Social Services, as summarized in the table below:

Table 3: Own-Account and Employer Self-Employed by Industry, Canada 1999.

Industry	% of Employers in category	% of OA in category
Retail Trade	30.8	13.7
Business Services	9.4	17.6
Other Services	15.9	38.7
Health and Social Services	9.9	12.2

Source: Hughes, 1999: 19

With the exception of Health and Social Services, there are important patterns in the distribution of women in the Employers and Own-Account categories by industry. Retail Trade accounts for over 30% of female Employers, but less than 14% of female Own-Account SE, whereas Own-Account SE women are more highly concentrated in Business and Other Services than are Employers.

These industrial patterns were important to the study because they represent important distinctions in the nature and quality of work, and contribute to heterogeneity in the sample (Krahn & Lowe, 1998: 56, 97, 99). For example, average weekly earnings varies substantially between the industrial categories dominating self-employment:

Table 4: Self-Employment Income by Industry, Canada, 2000

Industry	Average Weekly Earnings
Retail Trade	$378.52
Business Services	$714.19
Other Services	$414.34
Health and Social Services	$528.39

Source: Statistics Canada, 2000: 3

In addition to differences in weekly earnings, Krahn and Lowe (1998:56) differentiate the quality of work available within these categories, classifying Business and Health Services as 'upper tier' and Retail Trade and Other Services as 'lower tier'. While the study could not incorporate a full range of industrial classifications, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge and integrate a reasonable amount of industrial diversity in the sample. For this reason, I included both OA and Employer self-employed in the four largest relevant industrial categories. Locating three women in each industry, in both the OA and Employer categories, generated a sample of twenty-four women, in an effort to provide a broad range of experiences within the constraints of the study.

Sampling method

As is common within qualitative, interview-based research of self-employed workers, I gathered participants for the study through a non-random, purposive sample (Brush, 1992: 8; Jurik, 1998: 11; Stevenson, 1990: 443). Purposive sampling was appropriate for this study for a number of reasons. First, there was no comprehensive list of all self-employed women in the Edmonton area to serve as a population list, a problem often encountered by self-employment researchers (Green & Cohen, 1995: 289). This fact alone precluded utilizing a random sample for locating participants in the Edmonton area for the study. Second, the study does not require a representative sample – because in keeping with the qualitative nature of the study, I was searching for concepts and identifying relationships between them rather than estimating population parameters. And third, purposive sampling generated enough diversity in the sample to adequately capture the heterogeneity of female self-employment, which was an essential component of the study.

As summarized in the descriptions of key individual characteristics in the study, I added heterogeneity to the sample by purposively selecting equal numbers of women in own-account and

employer self-employed arrangements, and by selecting from the four most common industrial categories. In contrast, I attempted to limit heterogeneity in terms of personal characteristics by excluding males and single mothers from the study. The goal of sampling was to incorporate variation in terms of self-employment experiences while maintaining some similarities among participants, so that I could gather adequate amounts data within the limited sample size to answer the central research questions.

Accessing participants

I accessed participants using through four main sources including: *Connecting Women*, an Edmonton-based association of women business owners; the *Alberta Small Business Association;* a limited number of participants from Dr. Karen Hughes' ongoing study of Canadian Women in Self-Employment; and referrals from study participants.

Overview of participants

During the analysis Chapters, I will refer to the participants by pseudonyms and Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 below summarize personal and business characteristics for Own-Account and Employer self-employed women, with participants identified by pseudonym. The purpose of these charts is to allow readers to situate participants in terms of key family and work characteristics while reading the analysis.

Table 5: Own-Account Self-Employed: Work and Personal Characteristics

Own-Account Self-Employed						
Pseudonym	Industry	Education	Age	Number of Children	Age of Youngest Child	Age of Oldest Child
Stacey	Retail	Some Post-Secondary	34	2	2	5
Rachel	Retail	Master's degree	45	1	8	
Dorothy	Retail	Bachelor's degree	32	1	2	
Rose	Business	Some post-secondary	44	3	12	20
Chris	Business	Some post-secondary	31	2	0.5	2
Chloe	Business	College diploma	44	2	11	13
Lisa	Other Services	Grade 10-12	29	3	3	9
Luanne	Other Services	Bachelor's degree	38	2	12	15
Samantha	Other Services	Trade certificate	35	2	4	8
Margie	Health	Trade certificate	30	1	1	
Sue	Health	Bachelor's degree	41	2	12	14
Mary	Health	Bachelor's degree	44	6	0.5	23
Average			**38.6**	**2.8**	**6.5**	**12.5**

Table 6: Employer Self-Employed: Work and Personal Characteristics

Employer Self-employed						
Pseudonym	Industry	Education	Age	Number of Children	Age of Youngest Child	Age of Oldest Child
Nina	Retail	Complete High School	32	3	5	10
Shelley	Retail	Some post-secondary	48	2	12	16
Glennis	Retail	Some post-secondary	37	2	11	13
Sandy	Business	Bachelor's degree	39	1	4	
Paulette	Business	Trade certificate	27	1	8	
Kristin	Business	Bachelor's degree	37	2	7	10
Marianne	Other Services	Complete High School	29	4	1	7
Cindy	Other Services	Complete High School	31	2	6	8
Jacquie	Other Services	Trade certificate	32	2	2	5
Clare	Health	Master's degree	28	1	3	
Theresa	Health	Doctoral degree	36	3	3	8
Anna	Health	Doctoral degree	49	2	17	21
Average			**32.4**	**1.9**	**4.9**	**8.8**

The average age of participants at the time of the interviews was 37.5 years. A comparison of Tables 5 and 6 indicates that Own-account women were slightly older, with an average age of just below thirty-nine years, compared to employers, with an average age of just over thirty-two years. With the exception of one own-account midwife with six children, the average number of children per family in both categories was two, just slightly higher than the 1.9 average number of children for employer self-employed. Own-account women had a higher average age for their youngest child, at 6.5 years, compared to 4.9 years for employers, as well as a higher average age for oldest child, at 12.5 compared to 8.8 years. Four of the own-account women had self-employed husbands, but none of these women worked with their husbands. Three of the employer self-employed women had self-employed husbands. In terms of family-operated businesses, Marianne's husband was a partner in her business, and Cindy employed her husband part-time. Other women in the study (Dorothy and Sandy) reported that their husbands contributed labour to the business, but did not receive any income for their services. The level of

family-owned businesses in the sample is somewhat lower than national averages, where 48% of SE employers employ at least one family member, and 50% have a business partner, "who in most cases is a family member" (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001: 18).

Tables 7 and 8 below summarize important business characteristics of study participants:

Table 7: Own-Account Self-Employed - Business Characteristics

Own-Account – Business Characteristics					
Pseudonym	Industry	Tenure	Average Weekly Hours	Primary Work Location	Personal Annual Income
Stacey	Retail	1.5	90	Home	$20,000-24,999
Rachel	Retail	2	55	Combination	Not Reported
Dorothy	Retail	5	50	Home	Not Reported
Rose	Business	6	20	Home	$5,000-9,999
Chris	Business	3	40	Home	$15,000-19,999
Chloe	Business	10	35	Combination	$80,000-89,999
Lisa	Other Services	1	50	Home	$10,000-14,999
Luanne	Other Services	5	50	Combination	$50,000-59,999
Samantha	Other Services	2	30	Home	$1-4,999
Margie	Health	10	25	Home	$5,000-9,999
Sue	Health	9	15	Other	$5,000-9,999
Mary	Health	8	10	Other	Not Reported
Average		**4.9**	**35.8**		**$15,000-19,999**

Table 8: Employer Self-Employed– Business Characteristics

Employer– Business Characteristics					
Pseudonym	Industry	Tenure	Average Weekly Hours	Primary Work Location	Personal Annual Income
Nina	Retail	6	25	Office	$30,000-39,999
Shelley	Retail	1.5	25	Home	$25,000-29,999
Glennis	Retail	7	10	Home	$15,000-19,999
Sandy	Business	6	28	Combination	$20,000-24,999
Paulette	Business	1.5	55	Home	$20,000-24,999
Kristin	Business	3	Not Reported	Combination	$50,000-59,999
Marianne	Other Services	6	65	Home	$5,000-9,999
Cindy	Other Services	5	45	Office	Not Reported
Jacquie	Other Services	1.5	20	Home	$15,000-19,999
Clare	Health	1	20	Office	$10,000-14,999
Theresa	Health	10	40	Office	$90,000-99,999
Anna	Health	9	25	Home	$90,000-99,999
Average		**4.5**	**35.3**		**$25,000-29,999**

A comparison of Tables 7 and 8 reveals that employers had slightly less average tenure in self-employment at 4.5 years, compared to 4.9 years for own-account women. Employers earned more income, with their average falling between $25,000 and $29,999, compared to own-account women who fell on average in the $15,000 to $19,999 range. The 1996 Canadian national average income for own-account self-employed women working full-time full year was $18,893, so it appears that the women in the sample compare favourably with the national average (Hughes, 1999: 24).

In the employer category, Marianne's reported income was in the $5,000 to $9,000 range, and as the lowest income, this range pulled down the average income for this category. Marianne is self-employed with her husband, and indicated in her interview that she pulls very little income from her business personally because her husband takes out a substantially higher income (her reported family income was over $150,000). If she were not working with her husband, her own income from the business would likely be higher, increasing the average income for employer self-employed. With Marianne's income removed from the analysis, average income for employer self-employed rose to the $30,000 - $39,999 range. The national average annual income for full-time full-year employer self-employed females in 1996 was $31,488, so again the average in the sample

was similar to the national average.

Although the own-account women worked an average of thirty-five hours per week, one participant in that group reported working between sixty and one hundred and twenty hours per week, which averages out to ninety hours per week, and with that outlier removed, the average hours worked per week fell to 30.5 hours per week, which was less than the employers' average of thirty-five hours per week. In terms of most common workplace location, 67% of the own-account women worked primarily from their home, compared to 42% of the employers, this compares with national averages of 79% for own-account and 48% for employer self-employed (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001: 18). None of the own-account women worked primarily in an office location, while four of the employers did. The 'combination category' refers to women who worked both at home and one other external or office location. Women who fell into the 'other' category generally combined either home or office locations with travel to numerous client locations.

Data Collection

In collecting information from participants, I used a two-page questionnaire to gather demographic data, and semi-structured interviews to gather more in-depth information about work and family experiences. I collected the data in three general types of locations: women's homes, their workplaces, and neutral meeting places such as restaurants. When I initially contacted potential participants, I indicated in most cases, data collection including the questionnaire and interview could be completed within one hour. All interviews were completed within two hours, with a range of fifty minutes to two hours, and average length of one hour and ten minutes (seventy minutes). Transcribed into single-spaced text, the interviews averaged twenty pages in length, for a total of approximately four hundred and eighty pages of interview data.

The interviews took the form of 'life history questionnaires', guiding the participants through their personal life-lines or trajectories, focusing on routes through work and family events, in a pattern resembling Gerson's study of lifetime changes in work and family values (1985: 245). Each interview started with the statement similar to: "Could you please go back to when you left high school and outline the major events in both your work and family life, including your first job, your marriage, the birth or your children, and when you entered self employment, and at each event, please tell me what else was happening in your life in terms of work and family." This very broad

statement set the stage for the women in the study to recount a wide range of work and family events, and throughout their recollection I prompted them for contextual information from their other life domains. Life history data includes information that falls within three general categories: event histories, the accumulation of experiences, and the evaluation or interpretation of those experiences (Scott & Alwin, 1998: 100). Within these three general categories, and in the interview guide that I prepared for this study, were opportunities to explore different life events over time (including work and family careers); transitions from one state to another (entering self-employment); the interconnections of different events (entering SE, temporally relative to birth of children); the impact of earlier decisions on later life events; and subjective interpretations of the meanings of these events (Scott & Alwin, 1998: 102). While participants were recounting their life histories over time, I referred to my interview guide and requested further information and clarification on specific topics contained within the guide.

Collecting data through a historical and biographical recounting of work, family, and educational events allowed me to collect data in the spirit of the life course framework that guided the research project. I used the life course perspective as a guide to explore the transition into self-employment for women who were both self-employed and mothers when I interviewed them for the study. They were not necessarily mothers when they entered self-employment, and the interview process, which incorporated historical self-narratives including the entrance into self-employment and the transition to motherhood captured the diversity of experiences in this respect. This approach allowed the women to recount their own histories, and allowed me to collect comparable information from each respondent.

Although I had initially planned to follow the interview guide very closely, it became evident in early interviews, that this approach was cumbersome, and interrupted the flow of the conversation, as it made the women repeat some earlier statements in response to follow-up questions. In order to make the interviews comparable to one another, and ensure that I had collected answers to all of my questions, I paused at the end of each interview and went over each question, to verify that we had covered all essential topics. In some cases I had to ask my participants to supplement their original statements. By checking the interview guide during and after the interview, I was able to obtain answers to all questions while still allowing my participants to their stories on their own terms.

Collecting retrospective data over the life course required participants to recall information about events that happened a long time ago, often several years in the past. Recalling information through personal life histories is a method that is particularly appropriate for life course research because "people conceive of themselves in terms of stories about their actions in the world, using them to make sense of the temporal flow of their lives" (Stivers, 1993: 412). Personal narratives allow individuals to recount specific information from their pasts, within the context of multiple facets of their lives, and over time. In essence people view themselves not as disparate pieces of social data, but rather as the result of a cumulative, situated history of stories, so rather than distorting individual realities, personal narrative accounts of the past actually confirm and represent reality (Stivers, 1993: 412).

It is possible to argue that because of limits in our ability to correctly recall detail about past events, the information drawn from the interviews may be biased an incomplete. In fact our memories are often poor in terms of recalling specific detail of individual events (Chawla, 1998:387). Fortunately for life course researchers, however, memories are usually very accurate regarding the general course of events, and are facilitated by research methods that allow people to tell their stories through unconstrained recall – "elaborating their own accounts of the past at their own pace" (such as personal historical narratives)(Chawla, 1998: 387). We should also keep in mind that regardless of how social scientists collect detailed personal information from their respondents, they must recall that information from memory, and the risks of inaccurate memory are nor more (or less) salient in life history interviews than with survey instruments.

In addition to the possibility of factual errors based on memory limitations, there is the further risk that respondents "will present what they deem to be desirable" rather than stating what really happened (Gerson, 1985: 246). Related to this issue is the possibility that a researcher who enters the field with clearly defined research questions may essentially 'find what she is looking for'. There is no guarantee that the information provided by participants is fully accurate. It is important to point out, however, that this type of potential limitation is not confined to data collection through retrospective interviews, as it is quite possible for study participants to make incorrect or misleading statements in other data collection instruments as well. I took a number of steps to minimize the limitations of reporting bias. First, using face-to-face interviews allowed me to establish personal rapport with participants prior to and during data collection. In addition, I offered to conduct the interview at any time and place that was most convenient for the respondent. I also

assured all participants that I would protect their identities by assigning pseudonyms to their responses in any published accounts from the study, and by not allowing any one else involved in the research process to know their real names (the person transcribing the interviews, for example). I was unable to assure them of anonymity, because I knew their names, but I was able to assure them of confidentiality, because I would not reveal their names to anyone else. Ideally this combination of rapport, familiar and convenient location, and assured confidentiality made the participants feel comfortable, limiting any reservations they might have hade about revealing their histories, and encouraging "intimate disclosure" (Gerson, 1985: 246). None of the women in the study indicated any reluctance to provide detailed accounts in response to any of the interview questions or probes, and this is the only indication I have that they were forthcoming in providing as full accounts as possible of their life histories (Gerson, 1985: 246). I have appended copies of the interview schedule and survey at the end of this Chapter.

Data Analysis

I tape-recorded each interview, and of the twenty-four interviews, I fully transcribed four interviews personally, and contracted out the remaining transcription to a data management company. I then checked each outsourced transcript for accuracy – this was the first complete reading through of all of the transcripts. After checking transcripts for accuracy and correcting any errors or ambiguities, I entered the transcribed interviews into the NVIVO software program for data coding and analysis. I began the coding process during the second complete pass through all of the interviews. My goal in this second reading was to locate information directly related to the two main research questions (what does WFB mean, and how, or what techniques did the women use to achieve it). During this pass through the data I coded statements in the interviews very generally. For example, I coded any reference to managing work and family demands as "work/family balance." In the NVIVO program, these large, general codes are referred to as "free nodes."

As I made my way through the interviews, I began to realize that there were consistent sub-themes within the free node of "work/family balance." For example, a number of women indicated that they purposefully located their work in the home so that they could be available to their children during working hours. Once I realized this pattern was emerging, I developed a new

code under the umbrella of "work/family balance" called "work/family balance – location – home." Once sub-themes developed within the free nodes, I generated more precise coding structures. The general free nodes then became "trees" with numerous branches or sub-categories. I then returned to the first interview and passed through them all again looking for instances where the individual women mentioned a relationship between work location and WFB. During this pass through the data I found other codes emerging, for those women who moved their business to external (office) locations in order to facilitate balance. Essentially I went through the data, created free nodes, and as I created and refined free nodes into trees with subcategories, I returned through the interviews in search of other examples or further refinement of the codes. I passed completely through all interviews many times while generating and refining codes. The NVIVO program has several features that researchers can use to explore and analyze their data, including a spreadsheet-like feature to collect attributes, and the opportunity to map trees and nodes. I limited my use of the program to generating and refining codes, as this provided me with a clear enough view of the data to build and report the emerging model of WFB strategies, which I will outline and discuss in subsequent Chapters.

In addition to the interviews, I also collected data through a two-page survey that collected both personal demographic and business operation data. I developed and assigned codes to the data, then entered the data into a database program (Microsoft Excel). The sample was too small to generate any meaningful statistical analysis, but in the analysis Chapters, I do provide averages for a number of characteristics in order to show differences between the groups of women utilizing different WFB strategies.

During the interview process, I explained to each participant that although the information they provided would not be *anonymous* (because I knew who they were), I would keep their identity *confidential* by referring to them by pseudonym throughout the presentation of the research. I offered each woman the opportunity to provide their own pseudonym (Reinharz, 1992: 20), but each of them declined my offer. In addition to the pseudonyms, I made additional minor alterations to the data provided by the participants, in order to protect their identities while preserving pieces of information that were central to understanding how and why the women adopted the scheduling strategies emerging from the data analysis. Altered information includes changes to the age, gender, and number of children and details of current and previous occupations (while leaving industry classification intact). In addition, I obscured details of spouse/partner occupations, but did

retain information regarding their employment status (employee vs. self-employed). When I made alterations to the age of children, I left the age of the youngest child intact, because it was relevant to the type of childcare the women required. I left most of the other personal and work characteristics untouched. Personal and family characteristics were particularly important in providing markers for the life course analysis, while business-related characteristics were important in understanding elements of the work domain and how they changed over time.

In the analysis, division along industrial categories, employer vs. own-account status, and workplace location had little impact on the scheduling strategies adopted by the women, and thus could possibly be omitted from the summary presentation of individual characteristics. However, in providing fully contextualized stories of how these women combined their work and family lives, I often use interview excerpts that reveal the type of business they operate anyway, so even if I did not provide the summary data, perceptive readers likely could accurately guess the correct industry and decipher details of the structural work arrangement. In addition, discovering that WFB strategies were not influenced by industry, own-account vs. employer status, or workplace location was perhaps one of the more important and interesting findings in the study, and concealing these details from the analysis would limit the overall contribution of the study in understanding how self-employed women balance work and family demands.

The next three Chapters contain the data analysis sections of the dissertation. Chapter seven summarizes how the women in the study define work and family balance, and identifies the importance of time, flexibility, and control over work in their descriptions of this concept. Building on these themes, Chapters eight & nine describe patterns of WFB through border maintenance, and primary motivators for those strategic choices. Following these Chapters I reintegrate my study findings with the broader academic literature and social policy debates.

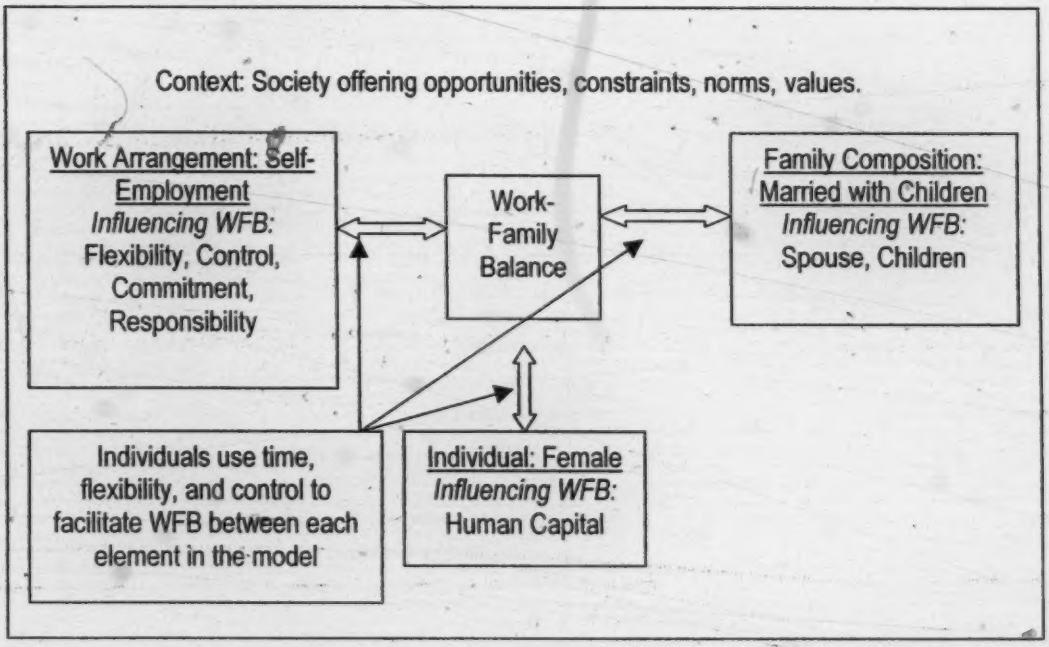
CHAPTER 7 - THE MEANING OF WORK AND FAMILY BALANCE

Based on the review of existing research in the field of WFB, the proposed goals for this research project were to explore the meaning of WFB for self-employed women, giving voice to their own interpretations, and to understand how these women use their work arrangement to assist them balancing work and family demands. In the following sections, I document my respondents' statements regarding their personal interpretations of 'work and family balance,' and discuss the central role of time, flexibility, and control as conceptual dimensions of WFB.

This Chapter forms the basis of the modified grounded theory portion of the analysis. Study participants identified control, time, and flexibility, in various forms, as essential elements of WFB. In identifying these as components of WFB, the women in this study provide a foundation that researchers can use to develop WFB as a distinct theoretical concept. This will allow us to go beyond previous depictions of WFB as a lack of work-family conflict, toward a fuller understanding of its own inherent characteristics.

In addition to merely identifying control and flexibility as elements of WFB, respondents also described how they used these tools over time and space between work and family in order to achieve WFB through Adaptive WFB strategies, an additional conceptual term that I develop throughout Chapters eight and nine. In more tangible terms, they used flexibility and control over the timing and location of work and family in order to meet demands in both domains. In terms of elements of WFB, the women in this study described different levels and types of flexibility and control, making it possible to theorize of these elements as tools that individuals can use and manipulate in order to obtain or improve WFB. They use time as a tool in obtaining WFB by making decisions about (controlling) how to delegate their time between work, family, and individual domains. While earlier work-family researchers have identified that flexibility and control within work can facilitate WFB, the participants in this study indicated that they operate within the family domain and in their own individual approaches to WFB as well. In terms of the analytic framework, individuals use time, flexibility, and control as tools to achieve WFB, and this occurs between each of the elements in the framework, as depicted in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7: Analytical Framework


Context: Society offering opportunities, constraints, norms, values.
Work Arrangement: Self-Employment
Influencing WFB:
Flexibility, Control, Commitment, Responsibility
Work-Family Balance
Family Composition: Married with Children
Influencing WFB:
Spouse, Children
Individuals use time, flexibility, and control to facilitate WFB between each element in the model
Individual: Female
Influencing WFB:
Human Capital

Based on the central role of these concepts to personal meanings of WFB, I sought to identify patterns in how women used them in pursuit of WFB. Clear patterns in the use of control, time, and flexibility emerged from the data, and these patterns supplement distinctions between the Adaptive WFB strategies, which I will link with the theoretical framework and interview data in the next two Chapters. The patterns emerged from the data and in that sense are grounded theoretically in this study, but also show clear conceptual similarities with the border placement and maintenance mechanisms of the work-family border models. In addition, they show evidence of both structural constraint and personal agency as they change over time, situating these strategies within the life course perspective as well. This Chapter addresses two of the research questions directly: "What does 'work and family balance' mean to self-employed women?" and "What impact, if any, do control and flexibility have on WFB?" Answers to these questions provide the foundation for identifying both a more refined conceptual understanding of WFB, as well as the Adaptive WFB strategies that comprise the remainder of the analysis section.

What Does 'Work and Family Balance' Mean to Self-Employed Women?

In response to the interview question "what does work and family balance mean to you?" respondents revealed a number of themes as being most central to the concept. Among these themes, 'time' and 'flexibility' in both scheduling and location of work and family emerged most often from the interviews. In order to feel balanced, the women felt that they needed to spend 'enough' time with family and 'enough' time at work. They also expressed their need to be able to 'control' their time, when overwhelming work demands made it difficult to attend to family needs and when family demands made it necessary to limit time spent in the work domain.

I will discuss each of these themes below, emphasizing how variations among the key components of WFB also identified clear patterns in terms of Adaptive WFB strategies. As much as possible, I use direct quotes from the interviews to express nuances and patterns within the themes in order to let these women explain WFB in their own words. This use of data is a methodological choice consistent with my goal of giving voice to the women participating in this study. This approach also made it possible to identify the components of a more concise conceptual definition of WFB. As I have argued throughout the dissertation, earlier approaches to work-family 'balance' often did not examine balance at all. Instead researchers often constructed work-family combination as a 'problem', and therefore focused on its negative repercussions to the exclusion more positive portrayals (Becker & Moen, 1998: 3; Reinharz, 1992:19). In their statements, the study participants describe WFB as a dynamic process rather than merely a response to situational contingencies. In the following sections, I refer to the respondents by their pseudonyms, but I will leave fuller descriptions of the women and their work to the discussion of Adaptive WFB strategies in the analysis Chapters.

Time

The importance of time in balancing work and family was reflected in a number of different ways throughout the interviews. For some women, achieving WFB meant having enough time to spend with their children, and for others, it meant having enough time for both family and work. In addition to having enough time, time also interacted with both flexibility and control in the sense that for most women, balancing work and family meant flexibly allocating their resources of time between work and family tasks. Doing this required the ability to make decisions and act on preferences about how to most effectively schedule their work and family time. The ability to

control working schedules showed the importance of time in WFB and also outlined the link between control over time and flexibility – for some women, the flexibility of their position allowed them to take time away from work to attend to family matters. The converse was also true, however, and a number of women found that the demands of their business often left them with little time to spend with their families. These women often expressed a desire to gain more control over their work-related time in the future so that they could incorporate more flexibility into their schedules, and spend more time in the family domain.

In addition to emerging as an integral component of WFB for the women in the study, time also provides an integrative theme for the central theoretical perspective of the study. Hareven (1994: 439) suggests that the essence of the life course approach is the "synchronization of 'individual time,' 'family time," and 'historical time'". As researchers examine the timing of individual transitions, the synchronization of individual transitions within family contexts, and the impact of historical events on individual life course decisions, time is integral to all facets of life course research (Hareven, 1994: 439). Time is also foundational to Giddens' conception of structuration theory, as the "perspective places emphasis on neither the experience of the individual actor nor the existence of any form of social totality but on the way that 'social practices are ordered across space and time" (Daly, 1996: 11). Giddens indicates that "any patterns of interaction that exist are situated in time; only when examined over time do they form 'patterns' at all" (1979: 202). In this view, without repetition of actions across time and space, there could be no social structure or structuration of events. Because time plays a key role in the women's understanding of WFB, and in both the life course and agency/structure frameworks guiding the study, it will also provide the focal point of the Adaptive WFB strategies that I discuss over the next two Chapters. The following section highlights respondents' view of the relationship between time and WFB.

Paulette's comments reflect the importance of spending adequate *amounts of time* with her son:

> I need more time to make that balance. Honestly there are days where I don't think that it does balance and some days where you just luck out and say 'great, you know, I've spent this much time with my son and he noticed I was there and I made eye contact, and that was great.' What else do I need to make it balance? I don't know. I just think time is such a huge factor. There's not enough of it.

Nina also reflects the importance of spending time with her children:

> I think of work and family balance in the sense of being there for the kids after school, being able to drop them off, being at all their activities as much as I'm home with them every night for dinner.

Stacey shares a similar view, but also outlines the importance of having enough time to spend meeting work demands:

> It's the flexibility, it's the soul of it I think, in allowing me to balance it, because you only have twenty-four hours in a day, and you've got to try to spend as much time with each part of family and the business that you can, or that is necessary on any given day. I guess balance means being just basically able to have enough time to do everything that your kids and your husband need for you to do for them, and enough time to fulfil, I don't want to say requirements, your... I am looking for a very specific word, your demands, I guess, of your business. Ideally, having enough time to do all of those things.

Stacey's comments also outline the crucial link between flexibility and time. Stacey utilizes the flexibility of her work schedule to gain enough time with her family. Later in the analysis, Stacey's comments will also identify that her family must also be flexible in their demands for her time.

Like Stacey, Kristin outlines the importance of spending time with family, but also the need to spend time developing her business:

> Work and family balance... able to dictate the time I spend with my family and then at the same time do my job. That's what it's meant to me. I think for many self-employed women, having... being self-employed is also a very internal drive. Not many people can do self-employment, I don't think. Even as much as they want to spend time with the family, I don't know, it's a drive that you must have in order to be self-employed.

Both Stacey and Kristin indicate that in order to find a balance between work and family, they must be able to spend time with their family members, while also building their businesses. In their comments, and those that follow, we begin to see evidence that self-employment often can make WFB quite difficult because building a successful business requires substantial amounts of time and energy (Lewin-Epstein & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1991: 294). Chris, who placed her son in day care three full days per week at two months of age so that she could have more uninterrupted time to work, describes the competing demands for her time:

> I think, partly because my husband thinks I should be taking time off and spending it focusing on the kids and him, I think the husbands need the attention in there too. It's hard for him to realize I can't do this. It's hard for him to understand, (he thinks) 'your children are more important' and I think 'well yes, but my business is also important so if I don't do this for six months, I lose my clients'. I can't just leave it. Just like a child, you can't leave

a child. I'm up late, I'm not socializing with him or our friends because the kids go to bed and I have to go downstairs and work two hours and perhaps he feels neglected because I'm' spending all my attention on the kids and work, and yeah, it creates a lot of stress.

Margie expresses a similar view:

For a couple of months after my son was born, it was tough, because I'm still paying the portion of bills that I always paid, but I'm working less because I'm spending more time with my son, but I'm working less. It's really hard to mix the two, you either do half-assed work or half-assed mothering, you know? You're not doing both.

Marianne also outlined the competing demands for her time:

That's probably the biggest advantage of being self-employed, your income can be a lot higher. But it depends on how much time you're willing to work at it. So I mean your hours, you have to put in a lot of ... you have to work a lot of hours and for us it works out good because we can work and have the kids there at the same time but you do have to ... it's time consuming. I do the books too so I'm having a hard time finding time to do that. I'm usually about three months behind and then you have to catch up or whatever. So I find that hard.

Sue found that her intense devotion to her work as a midwife lead to problems with her children at home, and for a time she withdrew from work completely so that she could spend more time with them:

I stopped midwifery completely because of my personal life, I couldn't afford to have an active full-time practice because I needed to make some changes and I needed consistency. I'm the type of person that I can't put my energies and be effective in too many places at one time. I'm just not like that. I end up in trouble when I try to do this, and this, and this, so I pulled right out of work and I took care of my family. I think my kids did the biggest part in getting me to change and finding that balance because they were having trouble and needed my attention. And I think when I realized that I was going to dedicate time to get things on track in my family, it was in that process that I realized how important it was and once we got things going really smoothly and nicely in the house, I thought, nothing is worth upsetting that.

After taking a break from her midwifery practice for one year, she returned to work. When she returned she restricted the size of her client base so that she would spend less overall time in paid work, and more time with her children. In other words she chose to allocate more time to family and less to work, exercising control over her time, in order to obtain a more effective balance between work and family.

Marianne entered self-employment in order to be able to spend time at home with her children, but found that it often interfered with her family life:

> We were hoping that we'd be able to spend a lot of time with our kids, that was the goal. And we do, we do. We do get to spend a lot of time, but its a lot busier now than when we started. We don't get to go away much, that can be kind of hard. Like you always have to be here, or have somebody be here, so it can be hard in a way that you don't get to go out as a family, it's either mom or dad a lot of times.

Like Marianne and Sue, Cindy also found that her work was heavily demanding of her time:

> I love working, I love being busy, but then at the same time then maybe it's the maternal thing that kicks in where its like, you know I can spend probably ten, twelve hours a day at work, then I could probably spend another couple of days, a couple of hours a day doing paper work. I mean I could completely cut myself off from the house, from the family, from everything. I could easily do that but then that's not fair and I don't want to do that either.

In each of the statements above, the women indicate that they need to spend time with their children. Chris, who separated from her husband shortly after our interview, also mentions her difficulty trying to find time to spend with her husband.

Nina, who left a successful banking career to sell health care products from her home indicated that her own needs were a strong motivation for entering self-employment, and that she was able to meet some of her own needs in her new work arrangement:

> So now, for the first time, I have, this last year, chosen to do things for myself. So I'm working myself into the balance too. If my tendency was to skip to family and to the job, now my family needs and myself come first and my job comes second, but not all the time. Sometimes the job has to come first. So we kind of are all involved in the balancing game now whereas before I felt I was doing it all.

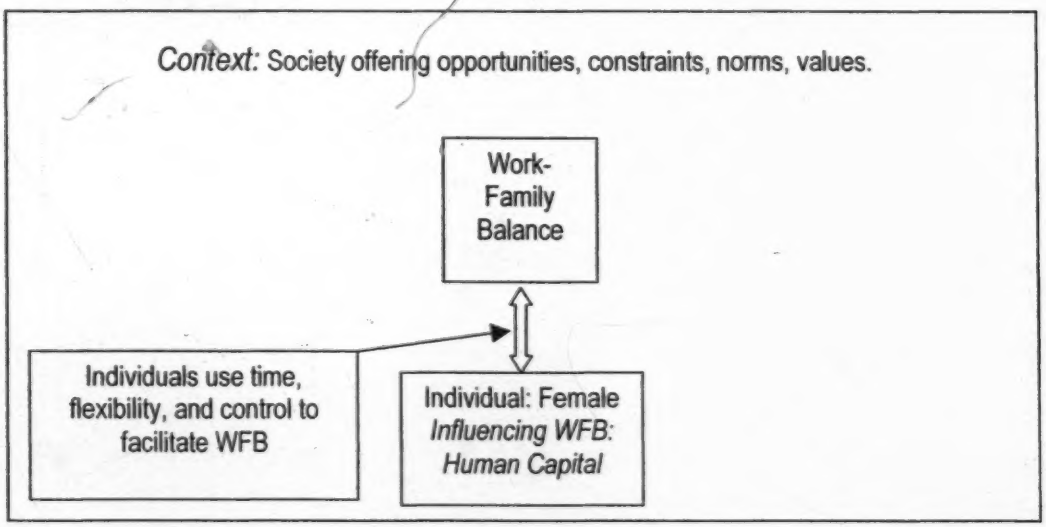
While Nina felt that she was able to consider her own needs as part of her efforts to balance work and family, others sought this as a goal, but had not yet achieved the desired results. Kristin stated:

> I was just talking about that this morning actually. I went and talked to one of the girls that I work with and I was saying how I think I need to rearrange my work schedule where I have more time for me because right now I'm ... I feel that it's me that's not getting enough time. I feel that everything goes to work, the kids, where I don't have time to look after my own health issues and things like that.

Note that Kristin indicates that she could take active steps to facilitate WFB, reinforcing the active nature of the process, and that she could do that by "rearranging (her) work schedule," or controlling her work time. Her statements reflect WFB as a dynamic process, that it includes

meeting her how individual needs, and that her own actions can improve on her current level of WFB. In terms of the analytical framework, she is describing the use of control over time in the relationship between individual and WFB, as indicated in Figure 8 below:

Figure 8: Reduced Analytical Framework: Relationship Between Individual and WFB, Mediated by Time, Flexibility, and Control.


Context: Society offering opportunities, constraints, norms, values.
Work-Family Balance
Individuals use time, flexibility, and control to facilitate WFB
Individual: Female
Influencing WFB: Human Capital

The preceding comments identify the importance of "amount of time" in balancing work and family demands. They indicate that in order to balance work and family demands, the women in the study needed time to spend with their children, to build their businesses, and also, although less commonly, to gain time for themselves and with their husbands. In their comments, we see that time is obviously a finite resource, it cannot be created, but only divided among various activities.

The idea that time must be divided between work and family domains evolved from the separation of home and work during the industrial revolution (Daly, 1996: 70). Prior to this time, work and family essentially coexisted in the same physical and temporal space, there was little or no distinction between 'work time' and 'family time' and little need to discuss the 'problem' of balancing work and family demands. Some theorists argue that prior to industrial capitalism, linear time simply did not exist for most people, and it was only the separation of work and family through industrial capitalism that made clock time relevant at all (Daly, 1996: 70; Glucksmann, 1998: 243; Thompson, 1974: 49).

In addition to establishing clear demarcations between work and family domains, industrialization also led to the wide-spread use of 'labour-saving devices' in the domestic realm. Rather than decreasing the amount of time that women spent in household labour however, these devices had the unexpected effect of increasing standards of cleanliness, mothering, and cooking, so that "housework expanded to fill the available time" (Schor, 1991: 8). Thus the problems that these women identify in terms of allocating finite resources of time in meeting their work and family demands is well-rooted in the sociological literature relating the development of linear time to the initial separation of work and family domains.

In terms of the analytical framework, the women in the study identified time as an essential component of WFB, both in terms of having enough time to spend with work, family, and self, and in terms of making decisions about (controlling) their time. Finding that working mothers want to have both more time and more control over their time is not particularly surprising, this pattern is amply evident throughout the work-family literature. Nonetheless, differences in perceptions about access to amounts of and control over time among self-employed women substantiates the need to examine the diverse range of experiences within this group, rather than treating it as a homogenous category. In addition, the experiences of the women in this study suggest that in developing a theoretical understanding of WFB as a distinct concept, researchers need to address access to, and perception of control over time in terms of individual, work, and family domains as component parts of WFB. Understanding the nuances in the relationship between time and WFB brings us closer to developing a more explicit conceptual appreciation of the dimensions of the term. In the next section I discuss respondents' identification of control as an additional component of WFB.

Control

In addition to discussing the relationship between finite amounts of time and WFB, a number of women in the study also identified the importance of being able to *control* their time. Jacquie explained her efforts to gain control over her work time:

> When I first started it was really hard, I have to admit, because when you first start you don't have the clientele base. You pretend that you have all these appointments, but you don't. People would phone and say 'can I make an appointment?' and I would say 'just a minute while I check' and in the meantime you have all these openings. People were phoning and saying 'can I come in tomorrow?', 'Can I come in Friday?', 'Can I come in Saturday?' And I was doing it for them. I was pretty much letting them rule my schedule,

> and that wasn't the way to do it, because I didn't have any control, so that was really tough. But then I talked it over with my husband and my mom, and they said 'why don't you just designate dates?' So I tried the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday thing, and that's what my answering machine says, but I really don't follow it. Because in some ways you have to bend over backwards for your clients, right? Your clients are your employers.

Even though Jacquie tried to limit her availability, she felt that she still had to be available to her clients. Stacey was also trying to change the way that she worked in order to gain control over her work schedule:

> Because right now I'm sort of working on demand, when an order comes in I don't have anything prepared for it, I make the order from start to finish, ship it out... but over the last year we've had the opportunity to gather a ton of data, based on all of our sales and make some educated guesses as to what we can pre-manufacture. So that instead of me working five hours on an order I might only have to work two, because half of the order I will be able to pull off the shelves, but half I will have to manufacture. So that once again will free up more time, at certain times like I might be able to work when the kids are asleep, I can do my mass manufacturing, then on days that are not busy like today, I can go off and do all the things I want to do with Elizabeth's preschool, or take Taylor to the park. So what if an order comes in, I know I've got half of it on the shelf. So in that regard, right now, as far as control over my work, its probably about eighty-twenty but I'm definitely working it so that its going to be ninety-ten, so that I have much more control over what I do.

As with the objectification of time into a finite resource, the ability and desire to exert control over time also evolved out of the industrial revolution, during which labour became commodified and sold to employers in exchange for hourly wages (Daly, 1996: 106; Schor, 1991: 53). In addition to supplying time or hours of work to their employers in exchange for wages, workers also gave over control of that time, while retaining control over the time that they retained for personal use including time spent in the family domain (Glucksmann, 1998: 243). As a commodified possession, time became a "symbol of status and responsibility" and the amount of control that individuals held over their own time became an indication of wealth, power, and importance (Daly, 1996: 107).

For the self-employed women in this study, there were no employers to exert control over work time, and this responsibility ostensibly fell to the business owners themselves. Their comments reflect, however, that even in the absence of clear external forces such as employers and workplace regulations, some of the women in the study did not feel that they had full control over their time. In essence, rather than claiming control over their own time, they identified some

and workplace regulations, some of the women in the study did not feel that they had full control over their time. In essence, rather than claiming control over their own time, they identified some aspect of the external, social environment as controlling their time. Meeting fluctuating client demands or the needs of children became structural constraints, creating a context in which they felt that they needed to increase their own control over their time in order to improve their WFB. What is particularly interesting about this view of control is that it varied among the respondents. Some made clear statements that they had control over their time, others claimed that meeting client demands controlled how they spent their time, and a third group indicated that meeting family demands was the strongest influencing factor. I explore the divergent views of the source of control over time while analyzing the Adaptive WFB strategies over the next two Chapters.

In addition to coordinating or controlling time within the daily or weekly combination of work and family demands, some women in the study discussed the impact of timing over a much broader temporal horizon, in terms of coordinating major work and family transitions. This view of time is also a central element of the life course perspective in terms of *social timing*, which refers to coordination in scheduling multiple trajectories, in that individuals often attempt to coordinate life course events with the trajectories of significant others (those with linked lives, such as family members), or between their own personal trajectories (Elder, 1994: 6). For example, married couples may attempt to "schedule" work and family events "to minimize time and energy pressures" (Elder, 1994: 6).

A number of women in the study discussed coordinating or controlling work and family events in ways that exhibit the influence of social timing and linked lives on WFB. Sue left her midwifery practice completely for a period of two years to devote exclusive attention to her family when her children developed behavioural problems at school. Shelley left a full-time professional career and eventually entered self-employment so that she could spend more time with her children. Stacey indicated that she planned the birth of her second child around her work schedule and her wedding plans:

> My husband and I got married between the births of my two children, and I said absolutely under no circumstances was I going to be pregnant while we were planning this wedding. So we had to get pregnant after the wedding, but it also had to be so that I was still available to my employer because that's just how I wanted to be, during RRSP season, which is February-March. So we really had to time it, and we got married in July and about a week after we were married I was pregnant with my second child. And it just happened so, I was there for RRSP season, and then two months after RRSP season, my daughter was born. So that went really well.

In this example, Stacey coordinated the birth of her second child with her transition into marriage as well as with the seasonal nature of her job, considering the impact of a transition within her family trajectory (the birth of her daughter) on the timing of events in both her family and work trajectories.

The relationship between time and WFB for the self-employed in the study is thus reflected in a number of ways. For some women, balancing work and family centered on the *amount of time* available to spend attending to work and family demands. For these women, having time or having more time contributed to their efforts to balance work and family. Others indicated that they required more *control* over their time. Women who sought control over their time generally intended to use that control to alter the way they spent their time at work, so that they could proactively plan their working hours, rather than react to client demands. A number of the women felt that they were working long hours to build their businesses, or working hours that were not necessarily convenient for them personally, in order to meet their clients' needs. Thus while being self-employed offered the opportunity to have some control over the way these women spent their working hours, this was often offset by their need to meet client demands while building or maintaining profitable businesses. In addition, the timing of linked lives played out over a broader time horizon, with women in the study attempting to coordinate transitions within multiple trajectories and limiting time spent in one trajectory, or domain, in order to attend to pressing needs in another.

Flexibility

While time was mentioned most often by the women describing work and family balance, flexibility was also a common theme, both as a general feature of self-employment, and in its contribution to WFB. The women in the study identified two aspects of flexibility contributing to work and family balance – the ability to work at least part of their hours from home highlighted the relationship between *location flexibility* and WFB, and the ability to interrupt their working hours to attend to family needs (and family time to attend to demands at work) highlighted the importance of *scheduling flexibility*. Scheduling flexibility applied to both work and family time and involved the ability to interrupt scheduled activities in either domain, in order to meet demands in the alternate domain. Scheduling flexibility at work was salient because it offered the opportunity to adjust work schedules to attend to family needs – most often the needs of children. In many cases, the women

also required scheduling flexibility from their family members, so that they could postpone planned family events to respond to work demands. A number of women also identified the importance of location flexibility – combining work at home and at external locations – as contributing to WFB.

Stacey describes the contribution of location flexibility to her efforts to balance work and family:

> It's that flexibility thing, I think that's the biggest key in how it allows, it actually does allow me to more easily combine work and family than I think a traditional job would. Because if I'm away from my office, and if I had another project that needed to be done in the evening, then I would be taking myself away from my family where as here, I can really, well if I want to work at midnight then I can. But if I was in a traditional job where I had to go to the office, its highly unlikely that I would go into the office at midnight. It's the flexibility, it's the soul of it, I think.

The women who expressed a link between location flexibility and the ability to attend to family needs (usually children's needs and housework) during regularly scheduled work hours, often worked at least part of their hours from home. Often the location of work itself was not flexible (they tended to establish clear routines regarding where they worked), but rather locating work within the home allowed women the flexibility to attend to both home and work demands while they were engaged in the work domain. In this way, in terms of the work-family border models, their work and family domains were physically and temporally integrated (Clark, 2000: 757; Nippert-Eng, 1996: 5).

While these women often attribute their ability to balance work and family to their work *location*, it is important to identify that they often used their location to interrupt the *temporal* boundaries between work and family by doing family work (such as housework) during their regularly scheduled working hours. In other words, working from home obscures the demarcation between work and family domains – it makes the use of time and place more flexible, allowing individuals to meet both work and family demands in the same location, during the same time period. Rachel outlines the relationship between work location, flexibility, and her ability to attend to her family's needs:

> I have kind of a loose schedule, so that unless I have clients specifically booked, I really can play with my schedule, like if I'm going to do paperwork and something family oriented needs to be done, then I can shuffle that around. And because I work at home, I can take little breaks to do things that are family oriented.

Sandy also outlined the relationship between working at home and flexibility in her business:

> If I had to go and sit in an office and do my work, that balance would be way more difficult to do. I have friend and her employer allows her to work at home one day a week and I know that she really likes it cause you don't have travelling time, you don't have to necessarily get dressed or well, I mean I get up and shower but you don't have to get dressed as if you're going to meet somebody. You could put on you know track pants and a sweatshirt and go to work... And the fact that yeah if it's not busy you can bring out your vacuum, you can vacuum you know one room or, or you know you've got a bathroom that needs cleaned so you think oh I'll just clean the bathroom, it'll only take five minutes. I think because you've got that flexibility, that gives you the balance.

For Samantha, who operated a small day home, and already integrated her daughter into her work schedule, working at home allowed her some flexibility to integrate housework into her working hours:

> (Being self employed) is far less stressful (than being an employee) because when I was working, even though my daughter was still young it would be, you know we would come home, we would make supper, we would do the bath thing, we would put the kid to bed, we'd never see the kid during the week. On the weekends, you really wanted to spend quality time with them but ok just a second there's all that laundry that has to be done, you know there's the cleaning the house because you really, I mean don't have time during the week when you're working all day long and when we were living out of town it was even worse. You know and now it's funny. I remember last year I was hanging out at school one morning and you know we'd just finished snack and all that kind of stuff and one of the teacher's was there and I said oh you know, I have to go home and do laundry right. And the teacher went, I would love to go home just to do one my load of laundry that I have to do you know? And so it is, it's just ... it's so, so much less stressful in that sense that I can do my laundry whenever I want.

For at least one woman in the study, working from home, rather than being self-employed, was the most prominent component of her ability to balance her work and family demands:

> *Interviewer:* Does being self-employed help you balance work and family or does working at home help you balance work and family more so?
> *Paulette:* I would say being at home. Being self employed helps but it's the fact that I work at home where I feel like I have more control over my life and over my son's life. You know. Definitely being at home. I, I know what's going on more. I'm more aware you know?

Cindy, who moved her business out of her home into a storefront location as her business grew, identified that move as limiting her temporal flexibility, because she had to maintain established store front hours. She indicated that this arrangement was necessary to her long-term

goals of expanding her business and her plan to generate enough income so that her husband could stay home full-time to take care of their two children. Interestingly, after moving to the storefront location, her children often spent several hours per week in the shop, waiting for the end of Cindy's workday. This meant that she imported some of the care of her children into her new work location. In this way she utilized a flexible physical boundary between work and family, a practice that she first developed when she operated her business out of her basement while simultaneously caring for her children.

While the preceding comments describe how the location of work can facilitate WFB, a number of women also described the importance of flexibility in their working schedules (temporal flexibility) as contributing to their efforts to balance work and family demands, particularly in spending time with their children. Nina outlines the relationship between scheduling and balance:

> I always usually get off work by three o'clock cause they have all their activities after school and that was one thing actually being self employed I do enjoy cause I can work around my kids' schedules. When you work for someone else, you can't do that. And I always said I'd have a hard, hard time working form someone else because of that flexibility. And I think... yeah, like that's probably another reason why, talking about this, inspired me more to have my own business because with my husband being self-employed, he can pick up and go whenever he wants. We don't have restrictions, how much time we want to take off. Of you know like if you work for someone else, this year you might only be allowed to have two weeks holidays, and you have to submit. We don't need any of that.

In this case, Nina is able to use the flexibility of her schedule daily – to leave work in time to pick up her children from work, and also to schedule large breaks for holidays with her family. Stacey also used flexibility within her schedule to spend time with her daughter:

> *Interviewer:* Are there times, are there ever times when you are working, that you will take time out of the family related stuff?
> *Stacey:* Oh absolutely.
> *Interviewer:* Okay, so an example of that would be..
> *Stacey:* Taking my older daughter to preschool. Going on a field trip. That's another reason why I like this business, is that I can I can say okay turn the phones off, this is going to have to wait for two more hours, and off I go. I was able to go on two field trips with her so far this year. And next week actually, they are going to the art gallery, and I see that there is a few names missing as parents-companions, so I will probably put my name on the list to go there, too. So quite often if its children related, and its preschool related, or school-related, then I will try to be there as much as I can.

The role of scheduling and location flexibility in WFB also provides a conceptual bridge between themes raised by study participants and the work-family border models identified in the

theoretical framework. According to Clark (2000: 756), individuals balance work and family demands by segmenting or integrating their work and family domains over physical, temporal, and psychological borders. Temporal borders divide time between "when work is done" and "when family responsibilities can be taken care of" (Clark, 2000: 756). Similarly, physical borders designate where work and family activities occur. Individuals negotiate and place these borders between their work and family domains based on both personal preferences and structural constraints (Nippert-Eng, 1996: 6).

According to the work-family border models, individuals exhibit patterns of home and family combination that vary from segmentation (complete separation of home and family domains) to integration (which "leaves all times and all places more multipurpose") (Nippert-Eng, 1996: 23). Within this model, border flexibility refers to the "extent to which a border may contract or expand, depending on the demands of one domain or the other" (Clark, 2000: 757). When individuals are free to work wherever and whenever they choose, then their temporal and physical borders are very flexible. When individuals are free to entertain "ideas, insights, or emotions" in both work and family domains, then their psychological borders are very flexible (Clark, 2000: 757). Over the next two Chapters, I will discuss how the women in this study used control and flexibility over the borders between work and family in pursuit of WFB.

While a number of women in the study confirm that time and flexibility were essential features of work and family balance, they had mixed responses regarding whether these features or self-employment actually translated into a balance between work and family demands. Stacey explains that in her case, work often takes precedence over family:

> Once again, the flexibility thing comes into play. If I'm swamped, whatever might have been my responsibility at home for that week, it's got to wait. The job pretty much works, the demands of the work take precedence over everything else. And primarily because that's our source of income, if it falls apart so does everything else. So it has to be maintained at a certain level all the time. The other stuff can wait. So family sometimes has to wait. But like I said, they're pretty understanding about that, because I'm in constant communication with them. If my daughter wants to go to the movies on a specific weekend, I might have to say 'well no, honey, we can't go this weekend, but we can probably schedule it in for next weekend.'

In Stacey's case, the scheduling of work on an individual day may be flexible, but she must complete her work as it comes in, and this requires flexibility not of her work, but of her family.

Obstacles to Achieving Balance

While the preceding discussion outlined that the women in the study were often able to utilize scheduling and location flexibility to integrate work and family demands, it is also important to note that self-employment also created barriers to WFB. While they had control over the work process to the extent that they could set their own work schedules and locations, some felt that in order to build successful businesses, they had to do whatever they could to meet their client demands. This often meant working longer, or less convenient hours than they had anticipated. In essence, the need to meet client demand in service of the business turned the flexibility and control of self-employment into an external structural constraint, and 'client demand' became a controlling force dictating working hours and locations.

As with time and flexibility, the barriers to work and family balance took on a number of different forms. One common theme was the central role of the woman in maintaining her business to the extent that it was difficult to spend time away from work to attend to family needs. This pattern is reflective of Katherine Marshall's findings that self-employed mothers are much more likely to return to work immediately after childbirth than are employed mothers (1999: 20). Chris describes putting her second child into day care at two months of age so that she could return to work full time:

> That was hard I think because this time if I had been able to, to pass on my responsibilities to someone else ... because my business is so personal and because I'm really not big enough to hire someone and I'm small enough that everything really has to be personalized for each client, if I'd had someone who could of taken over my duties, I would of taken you know four or five months just to spend time with him because now I appreciate that a little more. And he's such a nice baby, he's so relaxed. But you have to make choices, you can't do both. You have to try and find some kind of equilibrium.

Chris' experience outlines that while she had intended to use working from home to balance work and family, in reality, it was exceedingly difficult to work in the presence of her children. Most of the women in the study shared this view, and even though some of them integrated paid work and child care for short periods of time, most preferred to separate them.

Margie established her business in her own home, so that she could be available to her children during the day. Even though she made this decision specifically in order to balance work and family, she found the transition into parenthood difficult to combine with working in her home:

> We live in a really, really, weird time right now where women are expected to do everything really well and then we have a whole bunch of other disputes that I got really ticked off

about too. When I had my son, I went back to work about two months later, but I didn't answer the phone messages when he was around, because I couldn't do my business right. Then the problem was, I'm not working as many hours, but I still have to pay all these bills, I can't even get my phoning done, I can't get my clients scheduled, the house is a mess. I mean it was a royal mess. So I needed a babysitter, I can't get the house clean and I remember my husband coming home and he'd say something about the house and I'd just look at him and I'd get mad and say 'it must be nice for you to go away for ten hours and actually get your job done. You know when you're here watching him I get to go downstairs but I know I'm needed. I have to come back up, breast feed, I have to come back up get him ready for this, do this, pack bags, do this, you get to go for ten hours and do your job well'. And I remember being so frustrated, so even the optimal situation is so hard.

Margie chose her profession and work location so that she could be available to her children while still earning income. By the time she had her first child she had established a large client base and worked full-time hours. After her son was born, Margie found that combining work and family in the same location was much more difficult that she had anticipated. Although she stated that her husband was very supportive of her career, her comments above indicate that he had at least some expectation that she would be able to combine paid work, child care and domestic work in the same time and space. In this way the co-location of work and family could have become a structural constraint by reinforcing Margie's 'responsibility' for taking care of the home. Margie resisted her husbands' expectation that she would be responsible for domestic work, and contracted a cleaning service to come into her home every two weeks. Throughout the analysis Chapters respondents discuss different methods of combining paid and unpaid work, and whether they used flexibility of self-employment to separate or integrate paid and unpaid work in their homes.

In addition to combining competing work and family demands, the intensity of work demands alone can make it difficult to find a balance. Sandy's company works in relation to the school year, and she experiences substantial changes in her working hours over the year. In her experience, as her work demands intensify, balance becomes much more difficult:

> I would say that most of the time I have a balance between work and family. There are times when I don't have it ... and that's probably one time I resent having my own business, when it's so busy. There are times when it's all work and your whole focus is work, and I guess just cause of the type of business because it gets really, really busy and then it drops off so there's that chunk of time and it's June and I think, 'oh I can hardly wait till the end of June'. It's only a three-week period and it's just, I can hardly wait till school's out because then, then it gets back to normal. So I would say for that three week period there, there is no balance.

These comments reflect that while time, control over time, and flexibility within self-employment were crucial components of WFB, these same components of self-employment could make balance difficult to achieve, particularly when increased work demands limit time available to meet family needs.

The women in the study identified time and flexibility as being crucial components of work and family balance. What is interesting about their identification of these components of work and family balance is the integral relationship between time and flexibility and the evolution of modern (industrial and post-industrial) forms of work. The physical separation of work and family can be traced historically (at least in wide-spread prevalence) to the industrial revolution, which was made possible in part to the widespread replacement of task-oriented work with industrial production regulated by clock time (Thompson, 1974: 42). Through the combined application of clock time and centralized industrial production to the work process, task-oriented, family-centred work processes eventually were replaced by highly regulated individualized labour pursuits during early industrialization (Thompson, 1974: 42).

Cottage industry and agricultural work, which although gendered, often involved entire families in the labour process, were largely replaced in number and economic importance by factory work in which individuals earned hourly wages (Thompson, 1974). By separating the family and income generating labour from the family home, the industrial revolution created the foundation for current difficulties in balancing work and family. Before industrialization, families worked together and parents were able to supervise or incorporate their children into the work process. Although children were initially integrated into factory work in early industrialization, they were eventually separated from the process entirely, so that parents were no longer able to simultaneously supervise their children and engage in wage earning labour. Industrialization contributed to the separation of work and family, and by extension to current difficulties in reconciling these previously integrated life spheres (Daly, 1996: 70).

While the nature of some work tasks, and certainly their regulation was shaped by the introduction of clock-time during the industrial revolution, some work remained essentially task-oriented, particularly the care of very young children. Given that the task-oriented demands of young children and the clock-oriented schedules of modern work arrangements rely on completely different philosophies or approaches to time measurement, it is not surprising that parents have a

great deal of difficulty reconciling work and family demands. Moreover, given the historical relationship between time and the separation of work and family spheres, it will be appropriate in the analysis of the data collected for this dissertation to examine how women attempt to control or flexibly distribute their time in pursuit of WFB. While the current discussion identifies time, control, and flexibility as distinct aspects of WFB, the analysis Chapters examine how they use these elements in creating Adaptive WFB strategies.

Discussion

One of the primary goals for this project was to give voice to women balancing their work and family demands. In addition I sought to contribute to the existing literature by developing grounded conceptualization of WFB, beyond its current use as the absence of conflict. Interview respondents identified three core components of WFB: time, flexibility, and control. They also identified that these elements of WFB apply to themselves as individuals, as well as within their work and family domains. Moreover they revealed that although self-employment offered the promise of control and flexibility, access to these features among self-employed women, as with employed workers, remained elusive. For some women, external demands, such as client demand or the needs of children seemed to control how they allocated time and place within their work and family domains. In this way client demands acted as structural constraints upon their behaviour in much the same way as employer demands operate. Overall their experiences reveal that researchers must consider how access to, and perceived sources of control, time, and flexibility contribute to an overall sense of WFB, and how these relationships vary between individual, work, family, and WFB. Exploring these relationships will provide researchers with a much more conceptually developed understanding of WFB. I will use these features of WFB to explore Adaptive WFB strategies in the next two Chapters.

Essentially, this Chapter argued that time, control, and flexibility contribute to WFB. In creating strategies for managing competing work and family demands, the women in this study also discussed either integrating or segmenting their work and family domains, and identified personal preferences and external forces as motivating their work-family border decisions. Participants in this study consider themselves, their work demands, or their family demands as the primary motivating influences over their work and family decisions. The analysis over the next two

Chapters will examine these dimensions of strategic WFB and highlight how women switch between strategies in response to changing work, family, and personal preferences over the life course.

When making decisions about how to delegate their work and family time and space, the strongest and most commonly occurring theme throughout the interviews was the care and supervision of children. Because childcare was so central to the struggle to combine work and family, I chose to focus on strategies of establishing boundaries around childcare and work in discussing Adaptive WFB strategies.

In order to incorporate respondents' views of the most salient components of WFB into the analysis, I have developed a refinement of the remaining research questions:

> *What strategies do the women in this study use to meet their work and family demands? What impact, if any, do control and flexibility have on WFB strategies? Are control and flexibility personally negotiated, or structurally constrained by external constituents such as family members and clients? How do flexibility and control (personal or external) impact on placing and maintaining borders between work and family domains in pursuit of WFB?*

Throughout the remaining data analysis Chapters, I will argue that the women in this study developed strategies (re)combining their work and family domains, over physical, temporal, and psychological borders, and that their strategies were motivated or controlled by either personal or external demands (those of clients or children).

CHAPTER 8 – ADAPTIVE WFB STRATEGIES

While the preceding Chapter focused on study participants' perceptions and definitions of WFB, the focus of this Chapter will be on the strategies that they used to meet work and family demands. While I was reading through and coding the interviews for information about how participants balance work and family demands, I began to recognize clear patterns in the way these women combined their work and family activities, primarily by making decisions about the scheduling and location of their work and family tasks. At the broadest level, they were making decisions about whether or not to combine their income generating work with the care and supervision of their children, and about when and where to work (engage in income generating work).

The women in this study adopted two general approaches to combining work and childcare in physical and temporal space: they either Integrated (combined) or Segmented (separated) their work and family domains. Beyond these preferences, they also identified primary reasons ('motivations') for making work/family location and scheduling decisions. As with domain preferences, these motivations formed distinct groupings or patterns, and respondents identified their desire to be flexibly available to their children, to meet constraints or demands within their work domain, or to meet their own personal preferences as primary motivations for allocating time and space between work and family domains. Intersections between border preferences (integration and segmentation) and primary motivations (child-based, work-based, and personal preference) resulted in a number of relatively distinct strategies for balancing work and family demands. I will describe these strategies (Adaptive WFB strategies) in this Chapter, and then explore them through the theoretical framework in the next Chapter.

Throughout this discussion it is essential to keep in mind that while helping to describe different combinations of border preference and primary motivation, the Adaptive WFB strategies do not represent immutable categories. Some of the women in the study created approaches that do not fall clearly within a single category, but instead incorporate characteristics of multiple strategies. I refer to these as "Combination Strategies" and discuss them at the end of this Chapter. Nonetheless, there is enough distinction between patterns of behaviour and motivations to discuss strategies as distinct approaches to balancing work and family demands.

As with the meaning of WFB among the participants of the study, themes of time, flexibility, and control are central to the Adaptive WFB strategies. The balance strategies encompass

different patterns of arranging elements of work and family domains by placing and maintaining physical, temporal, and psychological borders, into general patterns of segregation (separating self-employment and childcare) or integration (combining self-employment and childcare in the same physical and temporal space). Socially constructed values related to family and work impacted on border maintenance decisions. These motivating influences represent various types of internal and external (structural) control over how women balance their work and family demands. The WFB strategies both play out over a limited time horizon, in the daily and weekly fulfilment of work and family demands, and also interact with changes in work and family demands over the life course. Insights from the life course perspective and structuration theory make it possible to explain how and why the women in this study adopted different Adaptive WFB strategies over time, in response to changing work and family demands, and I will explore these issues in the next Chapter.

Child-Based Integration

The Child-Based Integration strategy involves combining the activities of self-employment and childcare in the same physical and temporal space, without relying on any supplemental formalized childcare, motivated by the desire to be available at all times to meet the needs of children. In other words, the women using this strategy engaged fully in their income-generating work while simultaneously caring for their children. This definition is similar to Beach's use of the term 'integration' in her research on home-working families (1989: 70). Beach (1989: 1, 67) claims that home-working families are distinct from other families on only two dimensions: workplace location – by locating their work in their homes, and by pursuing "greater fluidity between work and family boundaries". In this view, a workspace with fluid boundaries is "no longer impenetrable to family interactions" as it "permits family members to be present during work, to become involved in work, and to affect the course of the workday" (Beach, 1989: 68).

Beach (1989: 69-71) acknowledges variation within her concept of integration however, specifying that individual homeworkers can separate their time and space from the family domain within the home. In other words, they can develop separate work-spaces within the family home, and engage in income-generating labour without also simultaneously supervising their children. In this way her concept of integration resembles a continuum of varying levels of integration. Clark does not identify a specific integration strategy, but acknowledges the opportunity for "blending"

over the work-family border. Blending occurs when there is "a great deal of permeability and flexibility" across the border, so that the "border is no longer exclusive of one domain or the other, but blends both work and family" (Clark, 2000: 757). This view of integration refers only to the border between work and family domains, and does not extend to full overlap of both domains. Nippert-Eng (1996:5) offers a third view of integration, but goes beyond workplace location to suggest that full integration involves the co-existence of people, thoughts, emotions, and ideas in both work and family domains.

My conceptualization of integration differs slightly from these earlier conceptions, and most closely approximates Nippert-Eng's use of the term. Most of the women in this study showed very clear preferences to either integrate or segment paid work from childcare, indicating that these are distinct approaches to balancing work and family demands. In some cases, however, participants created very flexible temporal and physical borders between work and family to an extent that it is difficult to place their approach within either category, implying a continuum between two extremes. Because most women showed clear preferences for either segmentation or integration, I will treat these as different strategies, while acknowledging that it is possible to adopt strategies along a continuum between these two approaches. Moreover, based on participants' emphasis of childcare as the most problematic component of WFB, I focus on the relationship between income-generating work and childcare when categorizing women as using either Integration or Segmentation strategies, rather than on Nippert-Eng's more expansive view incorporating co-existence of people, thoughts and emotions.

While some women in this study engage in the tasks of self-employment with their children present for brief, intermittent periods, only two women engaged in self-employment without using any regularly scheduled supplemental childcare at the time of the interviews. Both of these women provide childcare (operate day-homes) in their own homes. Clearly Integration is not a common strategy for the women participating in this study. It is important to note, and in keeping with the life course approach, that a number of women who currently adopt a segmentation approach to WFB used an Integrative strategy at an earlier point in their business tenure. While other researchers might choose to limit the focus on a relatively uncommon strategy, I chose to present this strategy first so that it could serve as a reference point from which to compare the Segmentation strategies.

The Integrative strategy epitomizes the idealistic image of a complete and borderless combination of the work and family domains that dominated early descriptions of the integrative potential of self-employment, particularly among homeworkers (Beach, 1989; Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998: 9; Christensen, 1987; Nippert-Eng, 1996). While researchers have established that full home-work integration is largely an ideal type that is not truly attainable, (Nippert-Eng, 1996: 6), it nonetheless remains as a powerful cultural image of the potential to generate a seamless combination of work and family domains, in which workers are not torn between competing demands, but rather fulfil them in simultaneous or at least complementary ways. This image is encapsulated by the assumption that working mothers can reduce or even eliminate their childcare costs by becoming self-employed (Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998: 9). After describing the experiences of women utilizing a strategy approximating this ideal-type of ideal work/family combination, I will go on to examine the more common Segmentation strategies, which stray from the cultural ideal, but nonetheless describe distinct approaches to meeting and combining work and family demands. In this sense, presenting the Integrators first serves as a heuristic device, presenting an idealized version of WFB among self-employed women at the beginning, so that it can serve as a point of comparison against the more common strategies.

Personal and Business Characteristics

Two women in the study fully integrated self-employment and childcare activities in the same physical and temporal space at the time of the interviews: Samantha and Lisa. In addition to integrating their work and family domains, these women also clearly valued being fully available to their children during their working hours. In entering self-employment and in scheduling their work and family time, these women were both motivated to meet the needs of their children, expressing a Child-Based strategy for balancing work and family demands

SAMANTHA operates an unlicensed day-home from her home has two daughters, aged four and seven. Samantha works thirty per week and has no employees. She started her day-home when her youngest daughter was three years old, following a three-year period as a full-time homemaker. Her decision to care for other children in her home developed out of her existing family circumstances (one daughter at home), and suggestions from friends that because she was at home anyway, she could care for other women's children. While she initially baulked at the idea

of caring for other children, when she approached the business as an opportunity to bring in playmates for her daughter on a trial basis she found that the arrangement worked effectively.

LISA initially opened her day-home as a means of bringing in extra income when her husband became unemployed. She operated the day-home for one year, but then discontinued it because of medical complications with her third pregnancy. She re-opened the business when her third child was two years old and has since been operating the day home for one year. She has three daughters, aged nine, seven, and three. She works fifty hours per week and has no employees. Like Samantha, Lisa was a full-time homemaker prior to opening her day-home.

Table 9 below summarizes some key characteristics of the women utilizing this strategy:

Table 9: Child-Based Integration – Personal, Work, and Family Characteristics

Pseudonym	Own-Account or Employer	Industry	Most Common Work Location	Position prior to SE	All Children born prior to SE?	Age of youngest child at start of SE
Samantha	OA	Other	Home	Homemaker	Yes	2
Lisa	OA	Other	Home	Homemaker	No	2[1]

The Strategy in Practice

For both Samantha and Lisa, integrating work and family means operating income-generating businesses from their own homes while they are simultaneously supervising their own children. For both of these women the physical border between work and family - in terms of the care of their own children - was completely permeable. Permeability refers to the degree to which elements of either domain can flow across the boundary between them (Clark, 2000: 756; Hall & Richter, 1988: 215). Both women cared for their children in the same physical space (location) in which they engaged in self-employment. The temporal borders between work and childcare were also completely permeable, as they engaged in self-employment at the same time as they were

[1] When Lisa entered self-employment, her youngest child was two years old. She subsequently had another daughter, so that not all of her children were born when she entered self-employment

caring for their own children. Clark suggests that when work and family domains are similar (caring for others children within the family home) weak borders will facilitate work and family balance (2000: 758). In terms of childcare, Lisa and Samantha essentially operated without borders between their work and family domains as they cared for both their own and others' children in the same time and space.

Both women described pathways into self-employment that were motivated by their preference to care for their own children. After the birth of her first daughter, Lisa made substantial efforts to obtain work during evening hours so that she could care for her daughter during the day, and her husband could watch her in the evenings. She found that the combination of working late nights, getting very little sleep, and then caring for her daughter during the day was exceptionally difficult. After the birth of her second daughter, she obtained daytime work and placed her daughters in a childcare centre, but found this to be emotionally difficult: "I did go to work in the salon for a couple of days but I just went and cried on my breaks and stuff because I couldn't stand being away from the kids." She left her job to stay at home full time with her children, and her husband lost his job. At that point, she opened a day home so that she could provide income for her family while simultaneously caring for her own children.

During periods of paid employment, both women used external childcare, although they both expressed their reluctance to do so. In Lisa's words, "I didn't have kids so that somebody else could raise them. That's how I feel." Lisa was reluctant to place her children in formal childcare, and had an exceptionally negative experience when she did place them in a childcare centre for a short period of time. As a result of this negative experience, she made substantial efforts to avoid childcare outside of her own family, and this became a strong motivating factor, in addition to economic necessity, in her decision to open a day home.

Although Samantha had placed her older daughter in full-time care with her own mother for three years, and was relatively satisfied with the arrangement, it did have some drawbacks. In particular, Samantha regretted the time that she was not spending with her daughter:

> My mom was really good with Lori, you know with teaching her things and stuff like that. Obviously the hard part for me was that she was so young, she was six months old when we went there, I missed a lot, you know? So it was really hard for me, mom would phone or I'd go pick her up, and mom would say, "Lori said this" or "Lori did that" and she was all excited about it, but it would break my heart every time because I'd think, I should be the one doing this. So I struggled for awhile with "am I going to quit my job?"

In Samantha's case, even though she had found satisfactory care for her daughter, she had conflicting emotions about leaving her daughter in someone else's care. This conflict, along with the miscarriage of her second pregnancy, which she attributed to workplace stress, contributed to her decision to become a full-time homemaker prior to the birth of her second daughter. She was very clear that if she had not been able to arrange for family care for her children, it would have been exceptionally difficult for her to be employed, because of her aversion to day care. In her words, "I'm not putting my child in day care, that's just something I thought I could never, never do."

Samantha and Lisa expressed very similar values regarding the best sources of primary care for their own children. Although they both recognized that alternative sources of childcare were available, they both rejected that option, and subsequently earned income by providing that exact service for other women. By opening day-homes and caring for other children, both women were able to earn incomes while avoiding day care for their own children. In terms of decisions to enter self-employment, neither woman sought out childcare as a career: Samantha used it to find playmates for her younger daughter, and Lisa expanded her existing babysitting role into a more formal arrangement out of economic necessity when her husband became unemployed. Both Samantha and Lisa added self-employment to their pre-existing roles as full-time mothers, and structured their work arrangements based on their primary motivation to be available to their children.

Child-Based Segmentation Strategy

In adopting Segmentation strategies, the women in this and the following two sections identified three primary motivations for their work/family domain preferences: the demands of their work, a desire to be available to their children, and their own personal preferences regarding when and where to work. I will describe the women ascribing their motivations to segment work and family to these different sources as using distinct Adaptive WFB Strategies, while reminding the reader that overlap between primary motivations and border preferences existed within the sample.

Nippert-Eng describes segmentation as a state in which there is a "clear and impregnable" boundary between work and family domains. In this formulation, Segmenters create home and work spaces that are mutually exclusive, with no overlap of thoughts, people, or language. She argues further that extreme Segmenters alternate between different "selves" as they move

between work and family domains (1996: 6). As with her description of Integration, true Segmentation is an ideal type rather than a truly obtainable state (1996: 6). Clark (2000: 755) adopts a similar view of segmentation, with Segmenters establishing relatively impermeable, and inflexible borders between work and family domains, with very little blending over the border between them. For the purposes of this study, Segmentation strategies involve separating the care and supervision of children from the activity of self-employment.

The Child-Based Segmentation strategy differs from the Child-Based Integration strategy in terms of the permeability of physical and temporal boundaries, as the women utilizing the Segmentation strategy established stronger boundaries between work and family time and location. While the Integration strategy involved co-locating work and childcare both spatially and temporally, the Segmentation strategy involved separating the care and supervision of children from the labour process. For the purposes of this research project, making work and family decisions based on the rhythms of children's lives ("Child-Based Segmentation") involved engaging in work associated with self-employment during times that children were otherwise occupied, without utilizing regularly scheduled formalized childcare arrangements. For women with babies and toddlers, this generally meant working when children were sleeping, and for mothers of older children, this meant working only while children were in school.

Also distinguishing this group of women from those using Work-Based and Personal Segmentation strategies (which I will discuss in following sections) were the motivations shaping their work arrangements. In this case, the women all stated that they arranged their work based on the needs of their children, a characteristic they shared with the women using the Child-Based Integration strategy.

The women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy had a number of different approaches to childcare before arriving at their current combinations of self-employment and childcare. Rose, Kristin, and Glennis stayed home full-time with their children, without employment, until their children entered school. Chloe worked around her children's schedules before they entered school, by working while her children were sleeping or otherwise occupied. Shelley, Anna, and Nina utilized in-home nannies or babysitters to care for their children prior to entering school, but in Shelly and Anna's cases, the women were employees during this time. Regardless of preceding circumstances however, at the time of their interviews these women

arranged their own schedules based on the schedules of their children, and did not use any regularly scheduled formal childcare.

Personal and Business Characteristics

NINA co-owns and operates a retail clothing store, working twenty-five hours per week, and supervises three employees. She has three children, aged ten, seven and five. Nina opened her retail store after a one-year maternity leave with her second child. She works a standard weekday schedule from 9am to 3pm, dropping her children off at school prior to work, and picking them up on her way home. Her husband is self-employed in a separate business.

CHLOE has two children aged eleven and thirteen and has co-owned a business with her husband for thirteen years. She works limited hours for the co-owned business, and thirty-five hours per week as an independent contractor in business services. She works at client locations, and restricts her work-days to coincide with her children's school schedules, including two months off during the summer school break.

GLENNIS operates a home-based retail company and supports fifteen associates. Because she recruited and trained her associates as well as gained income from their sales, I categorized her as employer self-employed. She travels for work, presenting her product at home-shows, but bases her business in her own home, estimating that she works ten hours per week. She has two daughters, aged eleven and thirteen, and she started selling products through home-shows when her children were four and six years old. She entered home-based sales after a six-year period as a full-time homemaker, and prior to that she worked full time in an unrelated occupation for three years.

SHELLEY has two children, aged twelve and sixteen, and operates a retail company from her own home. She has forty associates working in her multi-level sales organization. Shelley started her business two years ago after a three year period as a full-time homemaker. Prior to becoming a full-time homemaker, Shelley had a very successful nineteen-year career in an unrelated professional occupation.

KRISTIN has two children, aged seven and ten, and left full-time employment when her older child was nine months old. She stayed home full-time until her younger child entered school, and then obtained full-time employment in business services for a period of six months. She left that position in order to work independently as a financial planner because she felt that her schedule at work was too inflexible.

ROSE has three children aged twelve, fifteen, and twenty. She operates a business services company based in her own home, and has no employees. She works approximately twenty hours per week, with some seasonal peaks in her workload. She had her first child shortly after her marriage, and stayed home full-time with her children until they were six, nine, and fourteen years old. At that time she began volunteering for a non-profit organization, working very limited hours while her children were in school. She has since expanded her business, adding a number of additional clients, and has continued to schedule her work within school hours. Her husband is also self-employed.

ANNA has two children aged seventeen and twenty-one and has been self-employed as a psychiatrist for nine years. She works in her own home, approximately twenty-five hours per week, and has one employee. Although Anna started her medical career in an unrelated medical discipline, she found that the unpredictable hours of hospital work did not fit well with raising children, particularly because her husband worked frequently away from home.

Table 10 below summarizes some key characteristics of the women utilizing this strategy:

Table 10: Child-Based Segmentation – Personal, Work, and Family Characteristics

Pseudonym	Own-Account or Employer	Industry	Most Common Work Location	Position prior to SE	All Children born prior to SE?	Age of youngest child at start of SE
Nina	Employer	Retail	Store	Maternity	Yes	1 year
Chloe	OA	Business	Clients'	Maternity	Yes	< 1 year
Glennis	Employer	Retail	Home/Clients	Homemaker	Yes	4 years
Shelley	Employer	Retail	Home	Homemaker	Yes	10 years
Kristin	Employer	Business	Home	Employee	Yes	6 years
Rose	OA	Business	Home	Homemaker	Yes	6 years
Anna	Employer	Health	Home	Employee	Yes	8 years

The women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy worked in all industries but 'Other' and there were more Employer (five) than Own-Account (two) self-employed in this category. Education levels in this group ranged from completed high school (Nina) to medical doctor (Anna). Personal incomes ranged from $5,000-$9,999 (Rose) to $90,000-$99,000 (Anna). Averaged values (contained in Appendix 3) situate the women in this group, as oldest (44 years), second lowest level of education, longest tenure in self-employment (6.1 years), shortest average work-week (23.3 hours), highest personal income ($30,000 - $39,999), highest family income ($125,000 - $149,999), and oldest age for oldest (15 years) and youngest (12.1 years) children. Three of the seven husbands were self-employed, and all worked in businesses separate from their wives. The remaining husbands were full-time employees.

The Strategy in Practice

The women utilizing this strategy worked from their homes, storefront locations and client locations, exhibiting a mixed pattern in terms of the spatial location of work. The women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy worked mostly in Business Services and Retail, with the exception of Anna, who worked in the Health Care industry. Regardless of their workplace location or industry, they all made similar choices with regard to structuring their work, by basing their own work-days on the rhythms of their children lives. All of the women in this group have children that currently are either in school full-time, or are already finished school, allowing them long hours of uninterrupted time to engage in work relating to their businesses. Below I briefly summarize how Nina, Kristin, and Shelley arrange their work schedules to coincide with their children's schedules, in patterns that typify the Child-Based Segmentation strategy.

Nina currently schedules her work around her children's school schedule. On weekday mornings, she helps her children get ready for school and then drops them off at school on her way to work. She works from 9:00 until 3:00 and picks her children up from school. In her words:

> I always usually get off work by 3:00 cause the kids have all their activities after school and that was the one thing actually being self employed I do enjoy cause I can work around my kids' schedule. When you work for someone else you can't do that. And I always said I'd have a hard, hard time working for someone else because of that flexibility.

In addition to being available to her children before and after school, Nina also attends day-time events at the school, and because her husband also is self-employed, they are able to

schedule holidays together without difficulty. This strategy emerged over time, and Nina did not always schedule her work around her children's schedules. When she first opened her store and her workload was particularly heavy, she hired a nanny to care for her children:

> I had a nanny when we first opened up, I had a nanny who basically was my saviour when the kids were small and that's the only reason why to this day it worked the way it did because I had a fabulous nanny for the kids because I was basically living in the store.

At the time of the interview, Nina no longer employed a nanny, and provided all primary care for her children outside of their school hours. Her experience represents a common pattern among the women participating in the study, in that she adopted different strategies of WFB as her work and family needs changed over time. I will discuss other examples of this pattern throughout the analysis.

Like Nina, Kristin currently schedules her work around her children's school schedule. Although she attends numerous business meetings, Kristin's main work location is in her home. During the school year, a typical day for Kristin involves preparing her children for school, working (often at home) from 8:30 in the morning until 3pm when her children return from school, spending time with her daughters and husband until the girls go to bed at 9pm, then working until midnight (or later if she is working on a large project). Before entering self-employment she worked briefly in the banking industry, but even after negotiating a flex-time arrangement, felt constrained by the structure of paid work:

> The company gave me flex-time. It worked well for awhile but it didn't, because I'm very involved with my children's activities, when they're in school and they have school activities, I want to be there, and I hated it because every time I had to request time off. It was a true frustration because I thought I'm giving (my employer) so much, I thought they should give back to me because I would produce better, I would be a better employee and worker if they would bend a little. I wanted to be able to go to my kids' activities, if they were sick I didn't want to have to worry about feeling bad about phoning in and saying "I'm sorry, my kid is sick." They were very good, however it was not good enough for me. So I worked for a year as an employee, a very successful employee, but I decided I'd go out on my own because I wanted to take control of my life and my time.

After establishing herself as an independent investment consultant working in her home, Kristin was able to more effectively coordinate her work and family time, stressing the central role of her children:

> My time is very important with my children. Finding time with them, doing things with them is top priority, then looking after my clients is secondary and then so on and so forth.

Like Kristin, Shelley works from home during school hours. Shelly operates her business from her own home, and after dropping her daughters off at school, returns home to do her paper work in the morning, and any business meetings in the afternoon. If she leaves the house for meetings, she returns home by 4pm so that she can be home when her daughters return from school. In addition to working only while her children are in school, Shelley also schedules her daughters' events (sports, doctors' appointments, sleepovers) into her calendar before booking business meetings, because she views her family obligations as more important, and this puts her "in a position of control as opposed to reacting."

All of the other women using this strategy, regardless of whether they work from home, office, or client locations, all schedule the majority of their work during times that their children are in school. In this way they set clear temporal boundaries between work and family time. It is important to note, however, that many of them also utilized child-centered WFB strategies before their children entered school. Glennis, Shelley, and Rose were full-time homemakers prior to entering self-employment, and in that arrangement were available to their children full-time. Although Kristin entered self-employment from an employee position, her employment was preceded by seven years as a full-time homemaker. Chloe worked around her children's schedule before they entered school, by working while the children were sleeping or otherwise occupied. Chloe explains how she scheduled her work:

> *Chloe*: I worked at home. I worked around their schedules.
> *Interviewer*: Ok, let's talk about that, were the kids sitting there with you when you were working?
> *Chloe*: I tried to be the mom when they were up and so they, you know sometimes if they were just watching TV or something, and I would work while they were down sleeping or if they went to a friend's house or something I would work while that was happening and at night, I worked mostly at night.

Although she worked part-time in a business that she co-owned with her husband starting just after the birth of her first child, Chloe was also a student and employee at various times prior to entering her current work arrangement as an independent accounting contractor. Immediately prior to starting her current business, Chloe was employed full time, but found the arrangement less than satisfying:

> I was very stifled and I was very unhappy. I had no autonomy, no freedom to do anything. I had to be there between set hours and I wasn't used to that, and I found it very difficult

and it was a very stifling type of place to be in and so I just decided I don't need this and left. And then I just concentrated on working for myself at that time.

In her current arrangement she works from 9am until 3:30 pm, and does not work during her children's summer break from school.

Flexibility and control are salient themes throughout the preceding interview segments, and situate these concepts as both motivations to enter self-employment as well as crucial elements in the daily negotiation of WFB. The preceding interview segments also highlight that it is the combination of these two concepts that proves particularly appealing. Kristin's comments regarding flexibility and control are especially informative. Prior to starting her own business, she was employed in a professional career, and was able to negotiate a flexible schedule into her work arrangement. She found that flexibility alone was insufficient, because she also wanted to be able to make autonomous scheduling decisions, without having to request time off. The pairing of these key themes would arguably be difficult for employers to match, undermining their efforts to effectively facilitate WFB among employees.

Many of the women using this strategy sought and achieved some flexibility and control over their work through self-employment. When considered in a broader context however, 'control over work' appears to be constrained by the overriding motivation to be available to meet children's needs. In other words, although these women sought autonomy or control over their work schedules through self-employment, at the time of the interviews they were essentially matching their working hours to their children's school schedules, particularly during the school year. Because of their primary motivations to be available to their children, they set work schedules in response to a framework provided by the external environment. Setting their schedules in this way did not undermine scheduling flexibility as these women were able to interrupt both work and family time to facilitate demands from the alternate domain. This pattern highlights the impact of external factors in shaping or controlling time spent in income-generating labour.

Work-Based Segmentation

In this section, I describe the Work-Based Segmentation strategy, in which women generally attempt to separate work and the care of their children, and respond to external cues from their work domain when making WFB decisions, most commonly client demands.

The women using this strategy share with Child-Based Segmenters a preference for separating work and family domains, and differ from both preceding strategies in the motivations for placing and maintaining boundaries between work and family. Unlike the Child-Based Segmenters, who all had children of school-age or older, four of the eight women in this group had pre-school aged children. Rather than working around their children's schedules, Work-Based Segmenters with pre-schoolers utilized formalized childcare arrangements. Because the Work-Based Segmenters established their working hours based on the demands of their work, they sometimes engaged in income generating work when their children were at home, a pattern not evident among the Child-Based Segmenters.

Scheduling based on the rhythms of work took on a number of different forms, and occurred in number of different types of work arrangements. I categorized women into this strategy based on their descriptions regarding when and where they worked, and how they made those decisions. Some women set their schedules to meet the demands of clients, and some worked as contractors to organizations that either specified working hours, or provided a context in which the women could choose their work hours. Rather than scheduling work to meet the needs of children, as in the preceding strategies, these women scheduled work to meet either the demands of clients, or the demands of their work location or structure. The following vignettes provide brief introductions to the eight women who scheduled their work and family time based on work-related demands.

Personal and Business Characteristics

STACEY manufactures and retails sewing kits to local schools. She estimates that she regularly works sixty per week, and on occasion will work several sixteen-hour days in a row to meet incoming orders. She currently and has no employees. She has two daughters aged five and two and has been in business for two years. She was employed full-time in a series of service sector jobs since leaving high school and started her business after a six-month maternity leave with her second daughter. Her husband is a full-time employee and also operates a small business part-time.

JACQUIE has two children, aged five and two, and was close to delivering her third child when we did our interview. Jacquie operates a salon business out of her own home, has been in business

for almost two years years, works approximately twenty hours per week, and has recently hired an employee. Prior to opening her own business in her home, Jacquie worked in an unrelated occupation as a full-time employee. Her husband is a full-time employee and regularly works away from home for long periods of time.

SANDY is an employer in the retail industry. Her schedule varies substantially over the year, and during peak periods, she works fifty hours per week, while supervising five employees. Her business has been in operation for seven years, and she has one daughter who is four years old. Sandy started her company after being laid-off from a full-time position, during a period of funding cut-backs in the health care industry. Her husband is employed full-time, and volunteers within Sandy's company as a computer programmer.

PAULETTE is an employer in business services, and has two clients. In both cases, the contracting companies stipulate her work hours and location. She works onsite doing computer programming weekday mornings, and provides software support from home on a variable schedule that includes afternoon, evening, and weekend hours for her other client. She has recently incorporated as a business, and hired one employee, to assist with her programming work. She has one son, who is eight years old and attends school full-time. She has been an independent contractor for almost two years. Her husband is also a computer programmer who is employed full-time.

LUANNE is an independent conference planner and has two children, aged twelve and fifteen. She initiated her company five years ago and her only current client is her previous employer. She works most of her business hours in her own home, although she does have office space at her client's business location. Her husband is a full-time employee.

RACHEL operates a home-based retail company and works both at home and at client locations. She does not oversee any other sales associates. She has one child who is eight years old, and has been operating her business for two years. Prior to starting her business she was a full-time administrative employee. She was divorced shortly after her son's birth and has recently entered a

new relationship. Her partner/spouse works full time and watches her son when she is called out to client locations after school hours.

MARY is a midwife with six children, ranging in age from two months to twenty-three years. She works approximately ten hours per week in her midwifery practice, mostly in her clients' homes. Her husband is a full-time employee.

SUE has two children, aged fourteen and twelve, and works approximately fifteen hours per week as a midwife. She works both in clients' homes and in a central office that she shares with a group of other midwives. Sue started her midwifery practice eleven years ago, but discontinued the practice five years later for a period of two years. Her husband is a self-employed.

The table below summarizes some key characteristics of the women utilizing this strategy:

Table 11: Work-Based Segmentation – Personal, Work, and Family Characteristics

Pseudonym	Own-Account or Employer	Industry	Most Common Work Location	Position prior to SE	All Children born prior to SE?	Age of youngest child at start of SE
Jacquie	Employer	Other	Home	Maternity	No	< 1 year
Sandy	Employer	Retail	Home	Laid off	No	N/A
Paulette	Employer	Business	Home/Client's	PSE*	Yes	6
Stacey	OA	Retail	Home	Maternity	Yes	< 1 year
Rachel	OA	Retail	Home/Clients'	Employee	Yes	6
Luanne	OA	Business	Home/Client's	Employee	Yes	7
Mary	OA	Health	Clients'	Homemaker	No	1
Sue	OA	Health	Office/Clients'	Homemaker	Yes	1

*Post-Secondary Education

Work-Based Segmenters were more likely to be Own-Account (five) than Employer (three) self-employed, in a pattern opposite of the Child-Based Segmentation strategy. These women worked in all industries included in the analysis, and at a mixture of workplace locations. As summarized in the table in the Appendix, all of the women using this strategy had completed at least high school, and with a Master's degree, Rachel had the highest level of education within this group. Mary and Sue both reported income levels between $5,000-$9,999, and Luanne reported the highest personal income ($40,000 - $49,999). Averaged values (contained in Appendix 3)

situate the women in this group, with an average age of 38.4 as younger than Child-Based Segmenters, but older than Integrators and Personal Negotiators. They had the highest level of education; second shortest tenure in self-employment (4.4 years); second-shortest average work-week (32.3 hours); second lowest personal income ($15,000 - $19,999); second lowest family income ($60,000 - $69,999); and second oldest age for oldest (10.5 years) and youngest (5.4 years) children. Two of the eight husbands were self-employed, and both worked in businesses separate from their wives. The remaining husbands were full-time employees.

Sue and Mary are unique among other women using this strategy in that they both deliberately restrict their working hours in order to spend more time with their families. Both women refer to their work as a "calling" rather than a job, and are not motivated to earn income through their work. In combination these features pull down average weekly working hours, average personal income, and average family income. With Mary and Sue's data removed from the analysis, average weekly hours increase to 43.0 (highest among all strategies), average personal income increases to $20,000 - $24,999 (equal to Personal Negotiators, falling between Integrators and Child-Based schedulers), and average family income increases to $70,000 - $79,999, second lowest, above Child-Based Integrators.

The Strategy in Practice

The women utilizing this strategy worked from their homes, from storefront locations or client locations, and like the Child-Based Segmenters, exhibited a mixed pattern in terms of the spatial location of work. The women using the Work-Based Segmentation strategy worked in all industries and there were slightly more Own-Account than Employer self-employed in this category. Regardless of their workplace location or industry, they all described scheduling their work time in response to features of their work environment, most notably client demands. While the women using the Child-Based Integration and Segmentation strategies showed fairly consistent patterns in regard to the age of their children (the Integrators had preschool children, and all Child-Based Segmenters had children in school full-time), the women using this strategy had a wider range in youngest and oldest children.

Four of the women in this group (half of them) had preschool aged children at the time of the interview, requiring them to obtain some form of childcare during working hours. Rather than

integrating their children into the work process or scheduling around their needs, these women arranged supplementary childcare through formal daycares, nannies, and family members. The other four women in the group had children who were school aged (or older), and arranged after-school care when necessary to cover gaps between school hours and working hours. Below I briefly summarize how Stacey, Sandy, Paulette, and Sue arrange their work schedules in response to Work-Based demands, in patterns that typify this strategy.

Stacey schedules each Friday night as 'family night', but outside of that time, she is available to work, and she describes her schedule as "totally based on the demands of my job, the demands of my customers." In her questionnaire, Stacy indicated that she works between ninety and one hundred and twenty hours per week, which works out to a maximum of seventeen hours per day, seven days per week. Although this schedule seems unlikely, her description of 'family night' confirms that she separates out only a small portion of her overall time exclusively for family activities. Stacey responds to orders as they come in, filling and delivering them as soon as possible, working weekday, evening, and weekend hours to fill orders. She explained that when her work demands were high, she would delay events or obligations in her family domain, such as going out to movies or attending school events. One of Stacey's goals for her business is to generate an inventory of stock, to minimize the amount of time it takes to fill an order, but she has been unable to make progress because her current workload is too high. Three mornings per week, Stacey's older daughter stays home from her nanny's house so that Stacey can take her to playschool in the afternoon. On the mornings when her daughter is home, Stacey provides her with colouring books and videos to keep her entertained, and sometimes will get her daughter to do simple tasks related to the business, and spends her own time filling orders. On these mornings, Stacey says:

> If I have a day off, we may go shopping or something. But, it really depends on the demands of my job on the particular day, which varies from day to day, completely based on my customers' requirements. So, we both have to be very flexible.

Like Stacey, Sandy manufactures and sells products through her home-based business. Sandy's workload is divided largely into two main components – collecting orders and filling orders. Sandy completes most of the work involved in collecting orders through an office in her own home, and rents warehouse space between June and August where she and her employees assemble the products – filling and delivering the orders. Although she works throughout the year, her workload varies seasonally. She takes and fills orders between March and September, and at this

time her workload is substantially heavier than her "quiet times." She estimates that her work hours range from five hours per week in off-season to fifty hours per week during peak times.

Sandy has been operating her business for seven years, and has changed her WFB strategy with the changing needs of her business. During the first two years of operation, Sandy operated the business through her home office and garage. During this time, she integrated her daughter into the work process, but found that this became more difficult as both her daughter and her business grew:

> *Sandy:* You could plop her in an excer-saucer or in a playpen and she was quite content to be there but then as she got more mobile, then that wasn't ... it wasn't doable because she'd be climbing on, over all the stuff and opening up boxes and things like that, plus I didn't really want her crawling around in a garage, it's kinda dirty. It's not really safe so at that stage then she, she went to a neighbour.
> *Interviewer:* And was that the second summer?
> *Sandy:* That would be the second summer. The first summer that I had her, we worked around her. The second summer she went to a neighbour that took in kids and then from the summers since then I've done a mixture of daycare and having the babysitter that we get on a regular basis.

In addition to integrating her daughter into the workplace when she first started the business, Sandy also utilized a Child-Based strategy, by working around her daughter's sleep schedule. While Sandy was initially able to integrate work and childcare, and work around her daughter's schedule, as the business grew, Sandy found that she no longer had enough time available to complete her workload, so she incorporated a combination of in-home babysitters and day care to care for her daughter during her peak times. The growing size of the business also meant that Sandy's own working hours increased. Increasing working hours eventually limited Sandy's control over her own schedule, impacting on her ability to combine work and family demands:

> A customer will phone and you've got to do it right away and you don't have a choice and you're thinking, I'm up to you know here (pointing to the top of her head) and you know my daughter's been sick, I've had no sleep or I'm not feeling well, how am I gonna get it done? There are times when there is no room for flexibility, it just, it has to be done, it has to be done by a set date and those are the time when I find it really difficult because I don't know whether kids sense that or not but that's the time when my daughter will get whiny and hanging off me and saying "oh please mommy" and you just can't get it done. I have to get this done, I have to get this done.

Over the course of a year, Sandy's work hours vary between low and peak seasons and are driven by number of orders she has to fill. In order to decrease her overall workload, she is in the process of developing a computer program that will streamline her workflow, and ideally decrease her working hours. At present however, her schedule is based on the seasonal nature of her work and her level of client demand.

Paulette works as an independent contractor for two firms, providing software support for one company, and computer programming for the other. She has recently incorporated as a business, and hired one employee to assist with her programming work. In both her work arrangements, the contracting companies stipulate her work hours and location. She works onsite, doing computer programming weekday mornings, and provides software support from home on a variable schedule that includes afternoon, evening, and weekend shifts for her other client. Although she is able to submit her preferences for work hours in the software support position, as the newest member of the support team, she has little choice regarding which hours she will work. She has one son, who is eight years old and attends school full-time. Because her schedule varies substantially, she utilizes an after-school care program for her son so that he will be cared for if she does have to work afternoon shifts. During evening and weekend hours, when she is on shift and her son is at home, her husband is available to care for her son.

Two women in the sample, Sue and Mary, work part-time as midwives, and in both cases, the women restrict their client load to limit their overall working hours, but the timing of their work depends almost exclusively on their clients' needs. Sue spends six hours on Mondays at the central clinic doing pre-birth appointments, and the remainder of her time is spent in post-birth home visits and home births, which she schedules based on her clients' needs. Sue initially entered midwifery as an apprentice when her children were four and one year old, with her children in the care of a dayhome provider during weekday hours, and with her husband on evenings and weekends. Because her work hours were sporadic and difficult to schedule in advance, she made arrangements with her dayhome provider so that on days that she was at a birth her children could stay later in the day, until their father could pick them up. She became heavily involved in her profession, but when her children were six and nine, they began developing behaviour problems both at school and at home, and she chose to leave work completely in order to put all of her energy into her family. She returned to midwifery two years later, and at that point decided to restrict her client load to limit her overall working hours, and reduce time away from her family.

Although her schedule remains sporadic, her children are now fourteen and eleven and no longer require any formal childcare outside of school hours.

Personal Preference Segmentation Strategy

The women in this section constitute a distinct group in that they make decisions about how to structure work and family time by considering to a much greater extent than any other group their own personal preferences. In other words, these women expressed more individual agency in making work and family decisions than any other group. Like women using the Child-Based and Work-Based Segmentation strategies, the women in this group generally prefer to separate their work and family domains.

Personal and Business Characteristics

The following vignettes provide brief introductions to the women who utilized Personal Preference Segmentation strategy to schedule their work and family time in pursuit of WFB:

CINDY operates a dog grooming and retail pet food shop, and has five employees. She works between forty and fifty hours per week, and her husband has recently joined her in the business part-time (as an employee). Her children are eight and six years old, and both are currently in school full-time. Prior to moving the dog grooming business to its current store-front location, Cindy operated the business from her basement. She has been in business for five years.

DOROTHY operates a wine import and retail business, based in her own home. She has one employee, who is both a bookkeeper and nanny. She has one daughter who is two years old, and who is in the nanny's care during weekday hours, and when Dorothy travels for work. Dorothy left full-time employment with at wine store to start her business following Alberta's deregulation of the wine and liquor industry. Dorothy has operated her business for five years, and her husband is a full-time employee.

CHRIS works in her own home as a desktop publisher and internet web page developer, and does not have any employees. She has two children, aged two years and two months, and both children are in day-care two full days per week. Prior to starting her company, she did similar work as an

employee. Although her business relies on client demand, Chris structures her working hours to suit her own preferences, working two days during the week while her children are in day-care, and occasionally during evening hours when her children are sleeping, and she deliberately limits her overall workload to fit within these hours. Chris' husband works as an employee in a blue-collar trade and is regularly away from home for extended periods of time.

MARIANNE owns and operates a dog kennel in partnership with her husband. The business is located on their acreage, in a separate building close to their house. She estimates that she works sixty-five hours per week, and the business has one employee. Marianne has four children, aged seven, five, three, and one year old. Marianne opened the dog kennel while on maternity leave with her first child, and her husband left full-time employment to join her in the business four years later. Marianne uses occasional in-home babysitting, job sharing with her husband, and limited work/family integration to care for her children.

THERESA is a chiropractor with three children, and one employee. Her children are eight, six, and three years old. She works a variable schedule of between thirty and fifty hours each week, in a private chiropractic clinic. Theresa uses a nanny to care for her children each weekday that she is working, but is considering changing to a day-care and after school care provider, as she finds it difficult to find and keep good nannies for her children. Her husband is self-employed, full-time.

The table below summarizes some key characteristics of the women utilizing this strategy:

Table 12: Personal Preference Segmentation – Personal, Work, and Family Characteristics

Pseudonym	Own-Account or Employer	Industry	Most Common Work Location	Position prior to SE	All Children born prior to SE?	Age of youngest child at start of SE
Cindy	Employer	Other	Storefront	Part-time employee	Yes	1
Dorothy	OA	Retail	Home/Clients'	Employee	No	N/A
Chris	OA	Business	Home	Maternity Leave	No	6 months
Marianne	Employer	Other	Home	Maternity Leave	No	1
Theresa	Employer	Health	Office	PSE	No	N/A

*Post-Secondary Education

Women using the Personal Preference Segmentation strategy were essentially evenly divided between Own-Account (two) and Employer (three) self-employed. They worked in all industries included in the analysis, and worked in a variety of locations, with three of five

predominantly working from home. The summarized personal and business characteristics (contained in Appendix 3) indicate that all of these women completed high school, and that Theresa had the highest level of education in this group (Doctor of Chiropractic Medicine). Marianne reported the lowest level of personal income ($5,000-$9,999), and Theresa reported the highest level ($90,000 - $99,999). The combined average income of the women using this strategy was $20,000 - $24,999. As identified in the methodology Chapter, Marianne worked in partnership with her husband and deliberately drew a low income from the business. With her income removed from the analysis, average personal income for this group increases to $25,000 - $29,999 (second highest behind the Child-Based Segmenters). With her income included in the analysis, average income is $20,000 - $24,999, and with this average, they still exhibit the second highest average personal income. In terms of total family income, at $80,000 - $89,999 they hold the second highest range behind the Child-Based Segmenters.

In comparison to women using the other strategies, the women in this group were the most likely to either begin having children or continue having children after entering self-employment. This partially reflects their lower average age, situating them at an earlier stage of the life course at the start of self-employment. Other averaged values place the women in this group as youngest (32), second highest level of education (behind Work-Based schedulers); second longest tenure in self-employment (5.7 years); longest work week by a slight margin, working on average 40.8 hours per week (just ahead of the Integrators who worked 40.0 hours per week). Finally, their children, both oldest and youngest, were youngest among all groups.

The Strategy in Practice

The women utilizing the Personal Preference strategy worked from their own homes, storefront, office, and client locations and represent all four industrial categories. With the exception of Cindy, all of the women in this group had at least one preschool-aged child requiring some form of childcare at the time of the interviews. Regardless of their workplace location or industry, the women in this group described scheduling strategies that involved their own personal preferences to a greater degree than any other group. Rather than exclusively integrating their children into the work process or scheduling around their needs, the women in this group utilized supplementary childcare, separating work from the care and supervision of their children. They

shared this feature with the Work-Based Segmenters. Unlike the Work-Based Segmenters, however, they expressed more personal agency in scheduling their work and family time. All of the women in this study made decisions about how to structure paid work and childcare, and in that regard, they were all able to incorporate personal preferences into their WFB strategies. The Personal Negotiation women are distinct in that rather than identifying their children or their work as their primary motivation or constraint on work-family decisions, they expressed much more clearly how their work and family decisions met their own personal, individual preferences. Below I briefly summarize how Cindy, Dorothy, and Chris developed work arrangements that accommodated their own individual preferences, in patterns that typify this strategy

Cindy started her dog grooming business while she was employed in an unrelated occupation, and began operating full-time when she was laid off from her job because of a dispute over her wages and schedule. Prior to her second maternity leave, Cindy worked full-time, but returned to part-time work after a six-month break. When she returned to work, she wanted to work exclusively daytime hours and spend time with her children in the evenings, but her supervisor required her to work evening shifts. Because they could not agree to a satisfactory compromise, her employer terminated her position. Cindy considered this event as "a blessing in disguise," because it allowed her to "focus more energy" on her business. In effect her employment ended because of the incompatibility between non-standard hours and Cindy's preferred schedule. This pattern reflects the impact of *linked lives* on her employment status: being a mother and preferring to spend time with her children made work with an inflexible employer exceptionally difficult.

Prior to moving the dog grooming business to its current storefront location, Cindy operated the business in her own home. When she started the business, her initial intention was to work at home while caring for her children, and she did not initially use any childcare while she was working, integrating her work and family domains. She found it difficult to supervise her children while she was working, however, because they either needed her attention, or were occupied only by watching television. At this point, she decided to segment her work and family domains both temporally and physically, by sending her children to a babysitter during her working hours. Cindy's first strategy of combining work and family involved working with her children present, and booking appointments based on client demand. Note that this combination reflects a Work-Based Integration strategy (scheduling work and family time based on client demand, while integrating

work and childcare). Sandy (currently a Work-Based Segmenter) also adopted this strategy early in her business tenure. None of the women currently use this strategy, and so I do not address it as a separate category in the analysis, but it identifies that the strategy is possible both theoretically and in practice.

While Cindy initially established her schedule in response to client demand, she eventually compressed her working hours into three days per week so that she could limit the amount of time that her children spent with a babysitter. This new work arrangement distinguished Cindy's approach from the Child-Based strategies because she used supplemental childcare, and from the Work-Based strategies because she no longer set a schedule in response to client demands. As her business grew, and she needed more employees to meet the demands of her business, she decided to move the business to a larger, storefront location. She now works regularly scheduled full-time hours within the shop. Although she has a number of employees that can do the same work that she does, she schedules herself into hours that are not always convenient for her family, but meet her own preferred number and configuration of working hours. Prior to her husband's retirement, the children would spend up to six hours per week (after school hours) in the grooming shop while Cindy worked. As an employee in the business, he now generally leaves work at the end of the children's school day so that they do not have to wait at the shop until the workday is complete.

Dorothy combines a regular workweek schedule in her home office with a relatively predictable seasonal travel schedule (she travels regularly to purchase products for sale through her business). Dorothy currently leaves her daughter in the nanny's care while she is travelling, but did bring both her daughter and nanny on business trips while she was nursing. When she is working at home, she has breakfast with her daughter and goes to her office at approximately 8:30 am, comes upstairs for lunch, then returns to her office or attends meetings with clients until 4:30 pm. Although she works in her home and has no set store-front hours that constrain her to her schedule, she tries to adhere to her regular schedule and avoid family or home-based interruptions (such as housecleaning or playing with her daughter) during her work day because they interrupt her concentration. After returning from long business trips, she uses the flexibility of her schedule to spend some time with her daughter:

> I was in California just recently, spent eight days, and came home and I knew she was going to cling onto me... so I didn't book anything for that morning and we went swimming. You know we spent the morning together just the two of us swimming. I sort of know when

she'll kind of need me more and it's usually because I've been away or I've been travelling a lot, so probably that's how I stop work to be with her.

In this case, Dorothy has few external (work-related) constraints on her time, and sets her daily schedule based on her own personal preferences.

Chris works from an office in her home in a schedule that involves weekday and variable evening work. When she initially began working at home in her own business, Chris worked around her son's sleeping schedule, in a pattern resembling the Child-Based strategies. When her son was ten months old, she chose to place him in day-care. Rather than being motivated by work demands, she made this adjustment for her own well-being. She describes the process below:

> I actually worked at home with him until he was ten months old and then I took him to day-care part time. But the choice was mostly because I... the baby was colicky and he wouldn't go to anyone else. Had I been able to leave him with a grandparent or his dad if he was a little more relaxed then we probably would have waited even longer but it was pretty much taking him into day-care when he was ten months old and crying and saying 'please help me, I can't handle this anymore right now'.

The day-care arrangement worked well for both Chris and her son, and she developed a work schedule of two weekdays, combined with evening and weekend hours. She continued this pattern after the birth of her second child, placing him in day-care with his brother, at two months of age. She uses her weekday hours to schedule client meetings, make work-related telephone calls, and do any banking or errands that are easier done without small children present. Although her overall workload depends on client demand, Chris structures her working hours to suit her own preferences, even though her schedule has placed a strain on her marriage.

With the help of a flexible day care program, Chris has developed a schedule that allows her to meet client demand while accommodating her own personal preferences for workload and schedule. This pattern is distinct from the Child-Based strategies in that she uses regularly scheduled supplemental childcare, and distinct from the Work-Based strategy in that she restricts her overall working hours, and fits her workload within those hours, rather than setting a schedule in response to client demands.

The preceding summaries indicate that the women in this group tend to segment their work and childcare physically and temporally, for the majority of their working hours. There are many examples in their stories about adapting strategies to meet changing work and family demands over time. Cindy's story provides a good example of this, as she changed from Integration to

Segmentation, as well as changed her work location to adapt the changing needs of her children and business. In addition to an overall preference for segmenting work and childcare, these women also share an approach to scheduling that is more sensitive to their own preferences regarding how they want to allocate their time to work and family domains. Unlike the women using the preceding strategies, the women in this group do not claim that their schedules depend heavily on the needs of children or clients. Instead, they identify a wider range of contributing factors, and more than any other group highlight their own personal preferences in setting their work location and hours and in arranging suitable childcare.

Combination Strategies

Because the patterns of shared preferences for border maintenance and primary motivations captured the experiences of a diverse range of self-employed women, it is possible to conceive of these strategies as distinct categories. While most of the women in the study fell within these relatively distinct categories, at least two women in the study do not easily fit in any single category. Given the complexity of human social behaviour, it is not surprising that some women did not fit within the confines of the emerging model, and rather than "forcing" them into a category, it is more informative to examine how their approaches to balancing work and family demands differ from the clearer strategies. Exploring their approaches to WFB sheds additional light on how the dimensions of border preference and primary motivations interact in the practice of balancing work and family demands. Both Clare's and Margie's approaches to WFB falls between Work- and Personal-based Segmentation strategies. Clare identified a role for both work constraints and personal preferences when establishing her schedule of working hours. Margie is unique in the sense that she establishes her working hours based on an external constraint – the availability of favoured babysitters. The babysitters' schedules act as an external, or extra-personal, extra-family motivation for setting temporal boundaries between work and family, while simultaneously meeting Margie's personal preference to have only grandmothers provide childcare.

Personal and Business Characteristics

The following vignettes provide brief introductions to the two women who fell between previously discussed strategies:

CLARE is currently working towards her chartered psychologist designation, and works as a family therapist within a family-psychology practice. She is an independent contractor, and is paid by the practice based on the number of hours she spends with clients. She works three full weekdays and variable evenings to meet her current client load. She has one daughter who is three years old, and who attends a day home while Clare is working. She has been a contractor in this firm for one year. Clare's husband is a full-time student.

MARGIE is a massage therapist working twenty-five hours per week and her clinic is located in the basement of her home. Margie has one child, who was one year old at the time of our interview. Margie uses in-home babysitters to care for her child in her own home. Her husband is a full-time employee.

Table 13 provides a summary of key personal, work, and family characteristics for the women utilizing combination strategies.

Table 13: Combination Strategies – Personal, Work, and Family Characteristics

Pseudonym	Own-Account or Employer	Industry	Most Common Work Location	Position prior to SE	All Children born prior to SE?	Age of youngest child at start of SE
Clare	Employer	Health	Office	PSE*	Yes	2
Margie	OA	Health	Home	PSE	No	N/A

*Post-Secondary Education

In terms of scheduling decisions, Clare was able to limit her overall workload and spend two weekdays each week at home with her daughter. Initially the operating hours of the clinic limited her schedule to hours that were sometimes inconvenient for Clare's clients. When she began her internship with the clinic, she was unable to meet her clients in the evening or on weekends, but felt offering clients access to evening and weekend hours would benefit their treatment. She was eventually able to convince the clinic supervisor to allow her to offer some evening hours, and was attempting to negotiate weekend hours at the time of our interview. The operating hours of the clinic clearly provided structural constraints on Clare's schedule. Nonetheless, she actively negotiated alternative hours into her schedule to benefit her clients, and limited her overall schedule so that she could spend time with her daughter.

Margie operated her massage clinic in her home prior to the birth of her son, and chose her profession and location specifically with future children in mind. Working as a massage therapist allows Margie to restrict the number of hours she needs to work (because her hourly fee is so high), and allows her to work in her home, so that she can be available to her child (and future children) during her working hours. In particular she wanted to be at home when her children returned from school (once they were old enough to attend). Rather than working around her son's sleeping schedule, Margie brings babysitters into her home to care for her son. Prior to the birth of her son, Margie scheduled appointments based on client needs, working day, evening, and weekend hours. Following the birth of her son, Margie began scheduling appointments during times that she was able to arrange childcare for her son. For the first six months after her son was born, Margie scheduled her appointments during times that her husband was home so that he could watch the baby while she worked. His job involves rotating shift work, so Margie's work schedule changed with her husbands work schedule.

In addition to her husband, Margie currently uses three women to care for her son during the week, including Margie's mother, her husband's mother, and to a lesser extent, a young girl from her neighbourhood. The two grandmothers are not able to baby-sit regularly scheduled days each week, so Margie currently books her appointments on days that they are available. Margie's overall choice of occupation and location reflect her desire to be available to her child and future children. Her current schedule results from Margie's desire to use family members for childcare (as much as is possible), and relies both on their availability, and to a limited extent on client needs, as she will see clients on an emergency basis when she does not have childcare available. While her overall orientation in choosing her occupation and work location incorporated the needs of her children, she does not use a Child-Based scheduling strategy because she uses supplementary childcare. Rather than responding to client demand, the needs of her children, or integrating work and family time, Margie schedules around childcare availability, but this choice reflects her own desire to utilize family members to care for her son.

Summary

This Chapter established that while sharing similar work and family characteristics, the women in this study developed a number of very different strategies for balancing their work and family demands. Many of the women in the study utilized very similar approaches to meeting these

demands, in terms of either integrating or segmenting their work and family domains, primarily motivated by either work-based, child-based, or personal preferences. The dimensions of border preferences and primary motivations combined into clear categories that adequately described how most of the women in the study enacted WFB. Some women in the sample defied categorization, while still incorporating elements of the other strategies. This implies that while not all efforts to balance work and family demands fit within neatly delimited categories, border preferences and primary motivations are clearly important dimensions of strategic WFB. In the next Chapter I examine insights offered by the combined theoretical framework for the study. Essentially this analysis will show that the women in the study incorporated both individual agency and structural constraint into their Adaptive WFB strategies, and that they adopted different strategies over time, in response to changing work and family demands.

CHAPTER 9 - THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

In the preceding Chapter, I used interview excerpts to establish that the women in this study use combinations of border preference and primary motivation resulting in relatively distinct Adaptive WFB Strategies. Those strategies emerged out of the interview data, and in that regard represent grounded theoretical findings. In this Chapter, I will use the combined theoretical framework of work-family borders models, structuration theory, and the life course perspective to establish the utility of these individual strategies in distinguishing between unique approaches to WFB. In the previous Chapter, I described the Adaptive WFB Strategies in isolation from the complex social reality in which they operate. In this Chapter, I resituate them into the much more ambiguous context of work and family life to determine whether they remain a useful method of describing WFB as work and family domains change over time. The goal of this Chapter is to determine whether the strategies and those that use them are distinct enough to develop a theoretical model of Adaptive WFB Strategies, ready for further analysis in future research projects.

Work/Family Borders

In this section I will use the work-family border models to examine patterns of temporal, physical, and psychological border maintenance in the different strategies. While I focused exclusively on the care and supervision of children in establishing the Adaptive WFB Strategies in the preceding Chapter, I incorporate a broader view of the family domain in this analysis.

Child-Based Integrators

In terms of self-employment and the care and supervision of their own children, the Child-Based Integrators established flexible and permeable borders between work and family time and space. While similar in this aspect of WFB, Lisa and Samantha did exhibit different patterns of border flexibility, particularly in terms of how they temporally scheduled their work. Flexibility refers to the extent to which the boundaries (temporal, physical, psychological) can be changed in response to demands from either work or family domains (Hall & Richter, 1988: 215; Clark, 2000: 757). In terms of the timing or scheduling of her work-week, Samantha works within a clearly defined schedule that she developed to match her older daughter's school schedule. During school days, the only days that she accepts clients, Samantha walks her older daughter to school in the morning, walks to the school to escort her home and back to school during the lunch break,

and returns to school to pick her up when school is over. Clients must be able to arrange their own drop-off and pick-up times around this schedule. In addition, Samantha schedules her day home hours during the school-week, and does not care for clients during evening or weekend hours. Ultimately Samantha has the opportunity to offer her clients a flexible schedule, but has chosen not to do this. In this regard, she maintains fairly rigid (non-flexible) boundary in terms of the temporal division between work and family.

In terms of location, however, the work/family border is very flexible, as Samantha brings her clients with her to a number of different locations on any given work day. Samantha coordinates the lunch program at her oldest daughter's school, and brings her day-home children, as well as her youngest daughter, to school during lunch preparation, and they play with the children of other lunch program volunteers. She also brings the children with her to do her grocery shopping or other appointments. Overall, Samantha incorporates a great deal of location flexibility into her work, but established clear boundaries in terms of work scheduling, and arranges her work week around her own family's schedule. While the overriding focal point of the family domain was issues regarding childcare, the family domain also includes domestic work within the home. Samantha indicated that she rarely did her 'housework' during her regularly scheduled day home hours, because it limited her ability to effectively supervise the children:

> I can dust anytime because the kids can all have their dust cloth and they can help me out no matter what, but I can't turn that vacuum on because I can't hear them unless they're right there you know? But I can go downstairs and do the laundry and some of the stuff I can do but there's some of it where there's just no way because I, you know what? I'm in the house with you guys but I can't hear you.

Lisa offers her clients a much more flexible schedule, exhibiting a flexible temporal boundary between work and family domains, and stated that she often earns more money outside of week day hours, as parents are willing to pay a premium for her time during weekend and evening hours. Lisa deliberately incorporated flexibility into the temporal scheduling of her work so that she could control client selection:

> It was really confusing for everybody, and the day-home agency especially. Because as far as I know it's a rare thing, hardly any day homes offer weekend or evening hours, but that was one of my things because I knew I'd get calls right away and I did. So I had my pick of clients. I got to be very choosy which was good, because at my first day home I wasn't choosy and I ended up with ... I mean they were good kids, there was nothing wrong with the kids, but they parents, you have to be picky about the parents because they

can be quite the problem sometimes. I mean I was working long hours and not getting paid for it.

While Lisa was very flexible in terms of temporal borders, she clearly stated a preference for strong psychological borders between her work and family domains, with a particular emphasis on the parents of the children that she cared for.

> They have to understand that you know they always want to be your friend, or they're inviting you to this or that event, and you have to draw the line and say 'you know, I'm sorry but I can't do it.' And you don't want to hurt their feelings, but I just want to keep business, business and pleasure, pleasure.

Both Samantha and Lisa combined self-employment and the care of their children in the same physical and temporal space – integrating work and childcare. In terms of work/family combination beyond childcare, they exhibited different patterns of border maintenance. In comparing these two women, we see evidence that even in structurally similar work arrangements, individuals can exhibit very different preferences in terms of border flexibility. Because my conceptualization of Adaptive WFB Strategies focuses on the care and supervision of children however, these women do exhibit substantial similarities in terms of work-family borders.

Child-Based Segmenters

The women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy established very similar combinations of temporal and spatial boundaries between work and the care and supervision of their children, by working while their children were occupied in their own activities (i.e. in school). Because they generally worked while their children were otherwise occupied, the boundaries between work and family domains were not particularly permeable – in other words, unlike the Integrators described in the preceding section, these women tended to avoid mixing work and family domains in the same physical and temporal spaces. When they could not complete work within their regularly scheduled work hours, they still tried to avoid combining work and family by working while their children slept. Nina describes how she accommodated extra work at home:

> When you're an employee for someone else you came home and you didn't have to worry about nothing else, right? Until the following day. But when you're working for yourself, once the kids are in bed, if you didn't get some paper work done at work or you had deadlines to meet, you're up doing it.

Working around their children's schedules and limiting the incursion of work into the family domains articulates the general preference of women in this group to keep work and family domains separate, and the boundary between them relatively impermeable.

Even though these women tended to create fairly impermeable boundaries, they nonetheless valued flexibility, but in a particular form – they valued the ability to interrupt work in order to attend to family needs, particularly those of their children. For example, while Nina worked a fairly standard schedule, she often left work during the day to attend school events with her children, and indicated that that type of scheduling (temporal) flexibility was a substantial motivation for her to enter self-employment. Kristin identified having the flexibility to interrupt regularly scheduled work to attend school activities as one of the central motivations for starting her own business. Shelley indicated that while she was willing to interrupt her workday to attend to her children's needs, she tried to discourage other personal interruptions in her workday:

> People, when you work at home don't think you're working, so they just want to phone and chat. So it took me a few months to say "excuse me, you know I'd love to chat right now, but my office time is from 9 until 4 and so I have to cut back my socializing to outside those hours."

Although these women allowed flexibility in their work schedules to attend to family events, in many cases the preference was often asymmetrical, in that they stated preferences to limit work interruptions into the family domain. This was a particularly relevant issue for these women, as only two of them (Nina and Chloe) worked the majority of their hours outside of their own homes. Kristin, Glennis, Shelley, and Rose limited work-family interference by not answering work-related phone calls after regular business hours. Glennis' did not always avoid business calls outside of her regular business hours, particularly when she was first starting out in her business:

> It was a bit hard when I first started cause I was so keen that I didn't want to miss a phone call. If we were eating supper I'd answer the phone and then I'd be on the phone trying to get the client to book a party or you know I'd be doing the dishes, and the phones ringing, and I'd think, I gotta get the phone. With a home business you could work 24 hours a day and never get it done. It's never ending, you could just work and work and work. So I had to get control of what was more important cause there was a time when it was almost taking over. They, they were at the table and I had these phone calls and, and so (my husband) was getting frustrated. Too many people were phoning. And it was really hard to get used to not answering the phone but I'm so good at that now. I just totally ignore it.

For others, limiting work interruptions into the family domain was not always possible. Anna left her hospital-based pediatric practice to work as an office-based psychologist so that she

could have more control over her schedule, to be more available to her children. In order to accommodate her patients, however, she often allowed them to call her at home:

> My schedule was mostly 9:00 to 4:30 or 5:00. A fair bit of time there were evenings with phone calls, with patients calling in crisis. And that lead to some discussions between me and my kids... how we could be having a fight over the dinner table and then the phone would ring and I would turn all sweetness and nice and be the kind, interested doctor, and then hang up and be back at whatever we were trying to sort out.

Within an overall pattern of segmenting work and family domains, these women were more willing to allow accept family-based interruptions into the work domain than interruptions from work into family. This pattern fits with their overall motivation to balance work and family demands while remaining primarily available to their children.

Work-Based Segmenters

The women using the Work-Based Segmentation strategy also separated their work and family domains temporally and physically, but incorporated much more permeability and flexibility into the borders between them. Jacquie explains how working at home allowed her to make frequent transitions between her home and work domains:

> When I (worked as an employee) I was gone all day. Like you know if I would work from 8-4 I was gone from 8-4. I didn't see my kids the whole 8, 9 hours, just half hour before, half hour after. You know it was 9 hours you were gone. Now I can see my kids 15 minutes here, 15 minutes there. Sometimes if a client cancels, I'm not frustrated or mad, I just carry on with my life. My sitter will stay here or else she'll come back. I have way more time than I did (when I was an employee), by far. Like I don't even feel really I'm really gone sometimes. So I have more time to myself too I would say because I can putz, yeah I can putz around the house, do whatever I want, like put a load of laundry in.

Jacquie used flexibility in the temporal border between work and family to do limited housekeeping tasks during her working hours. In this way, working from home facilitated a balance between work and family, because it meant that she had more free time outside of her scheduled work-day to spend with her children. Jacquie also required temporal flexibility of her clients within the work domain, as she often had to cancel and reschedule appointments due to her son's serious health problems. So while she generally established her working schedule in response to client demand, she was able to incorporate temporal flexibility in the border between her work and family domains, and this was facilitated by the location of her business in her home.

Being located in the home also meant that there was some permeability in the work/family border, most notably when clients called for appointments. Jacquie did not allow her children to interrupt her while she was tending to her clients – evidence that the border was relatively impermeable to family to work intrusions. However, she did receive business-related phone calls during family time. In this way, working at home involved some unwelcome intrusions from work into the family domain, impacting both on her family and her ability to book clients:

> *Interviewer:* Are there any drawbacks of working out of home?
> *Jacquie:* The number one thing, probably the only thing that would be, is every client that comes, like I said I see about a hundred clients a month, is they have to phone. So they'll phone and the phone rings a lot and my husband finds it annoying moreso than me, because it's part of my job but yeah he does find it annoying. And cause my husband was answering the phones too and he'd say Deana called or Dena, Dina and he didn't know you. Or he'd say Diane needs an appointment, well I have two Dianes or three Dianes as clients. She needs an appointment. And I'd be like "Well, what Diane?" And he would say, "Well I don't know." You know so that was a problem for us and so I cleared that up by getting like a second line I think they call it. But it is an inconvenience for him more so than me I would say but the phone rings a lot.

In Jacquie's case, at least some of the cross-over between elements of the work and family domains can be attributed to the location of Jacquie's business in her own home.

Rachel also conducted a portion of her business at home, but met with clients outside of her home. Rachel also experienced intrusion of her work into her family domain:

> *Interviewer:* Did you have any expectations regarding how self-employment, how being self-employed would impact on your relationship between work and family?
> *Rachel*: Well, I probably did, although I don't think I ever put them into words. Because I hoped that I would have more control over my schedule
> *Interviewer:* Do you have control over your schedule?
> *Rachel*: Yes, I do and I don't. I mean most of the time I do, and then sometimes I have to shove over family things that were scheduled because that's the only time a client can book an appointment. Then, everything sort of has to go on hold.

Stacey keeps her older daughter at home three mornings per week so that she can take her to play school in the afternoon. Rather than designating these mornings together as 'family time', Stacey generally tries to work around her daughter:

> Like if I've got a big order that I have to do, well (my daughter) might be sitting down reading a book, or watching television, or playing computer game. It's very hard for me to be focusing on the manufacturing aspect of thing is she's right there but on the flip side is sometimes she's in my office on my floor drawing or colouring or whatever. And if it's a

lighter project, like if it's a small order, she might be handing me the threads to put in the kits, or ripping off the bags, like there is the interaction in that regard.

During these times, Stacey's combination of the work and family domains closely resembles that of the Integrative schedulers, in that she engages in the work and family domains in the same temporal and physical space, with completely permeable borders between the two domains. Outside of these three mornings per week, she prefers to separate her work from her family domain, by using a nanny to care for her children outside of her home, and relying on her husband to care for the children during evening and weekend hours.

Like Stacey, Jacquie has a separate work area in her home. Unlike Stacey, however, she does not allow her children to enter her work area. The women in this group who allow their children or family members access to their workspace while they are working, generally engage in productive work without any contact with their clients. Jacquie and Paulette are the only women in this group who engage in the majority of their client interactions while working within their homes. Jacquie's clients are physically present in her own home, and while she allows some interaction between her children and clients (in the entryway of the house), she does not allow her children into the work area when she is working. While Paulette does not physically bring clients into her home, she does a significant amount of her at-home work over the telephone. Because she does not want her son to interrupt her while she is on the phone, she does not allow him into her office when she is working. While Sandy does not receive phone calls at her home with the same frequency or regularity as Paulette, she places her work-related phone calls when her daughter is in playschool or otherwise out of the house. When clients are present (either physically, or over the phone), the women utilizing this strategy generally establish impermeable borders between their work and family domains. In keeping with their pattern of balancing work and family based on work demands, these women are also more likely to allow elements of the work domain to enter into the family domain than to encourage interruptions in the opposite direction.

Personal Preference Segmenters

The women using the Personal Preference Segmentation strategy predominantly separate their work and family domains, for a majority of their working hours. This pattern holds regardless of whether the women work in home or public locations. Clare and Theresa both work in medical offices separate from their homes, and both women prefer to complete all of their work while in

their offices, rather than bring it home after hours. Theresa allows her children to call her at work but she will not accept calls from them if she is with a client. Theresa specifically located her office in a downtown location so that she would not encourage clients to contact her outside of weekday hours. In this way she has established a strong work/family border that is relatively impermeable. She will schedule her children's school events into her work calendar, so that she can attend daytime events when she would otherwise be working. So while she will allow some temporal flexibility in her schedule to meet family demands, she does not see clients outside of office hours (the border is relatively impermeable to work-related interruptions).

While Dorothy and Chris work in their own homes, they establish strong work/family borders and separate work and family domains both temporally and physically. When Dorothy is not traveling for work, she works a regular weekday schedule in her basement office of 8:30 to 4:30, and sees her daughter (in the care of her nanny upstairs) only during her lunch hour. She does however incorporate some flexibility into this schedule, to spend time with her daughter when she returns from business trips. When Chris first started working from home, her overall workload was very light, and she worked around her first child's sleeping patterns using a Child-Based Segmentation strategy. She then switched to the Personal Preference strategy when she expanded her client base and workload, and placed her son in formal childcare not because of work demands, but rather for personal reasons (an opportunity for a much needed break from a colicky baby). After her child outgrew his colic, Chris continued using the daycare, and placed her second child in daycare at two months of age, so that she could maintain her work schedule. Although she works in her home, she does not work when her children are present unless they are sleeping:

While Chris does not work while her children are awake, she does work in the evening when her husband is present, even though he would prefer that she spend this time with him. Because Chris separates work and childcare, the border between work and family is relatively impermeable. Incoming client-related phone calls are an exception, and highlight the difficulty of working with children present:

> *Chris:* Sometimes the clients call and a lot of ... every client I have knows my situation and they know. I tell them from the minute they call "I just have to let you know I'm a work at home mom so forgive me if you hear any screaming in the background. You know this isn't a torture chamber, I'm just a mom" and everyone is very understandable. I end up getting a lot of calls on weekends, on .. in evenings and you never know what you're gonna get when you call my house so if my husband's there I can pretty much stop what

I'm doing with the kids and he'll take over and I can go into another room, downstairs to my office and take care of what I need to. If no one else is there and you can't focus on both at the same time, we have the emergency bag of cheezies in the cupboard that usually seems to give me at least half an hour on the phone.

While Chris tries to establish a relatively impermeable border, she does incorporate some flexibility into her schedule. When I asked her if she ever interrupted work to do family-related tasks, she responded in this way:

Chris: Well once I went and (picked up my son from daycare) just because I missed him you know? I just, I just really like my kids. You know he's a pretty neat even though he's colicky and fussy and has his own attitude, but every once in awhile if he's been in daycare or away from me for awhile, you just, you need that time together or I would go get him if he had a doctors appointment of if we had a birthday party to go to or if like before dad was coming back into town and we wanted to get the house ready or make a card for him or something.
Interviewer: Oh ok.
Chris: Just ... it never had to be a big reason.

In summary, Chris segments her income generating work from the care and supervision of her children, and uses a formal childcare arrangement. Like Cindy, she sets a work schedule that incorporates her own preference for work-load and schedule, including evening hours that her husband is unhappy about.

Like the Child-Based and Work-Based Segmenters, the women using the Personal Preference strategy tend to separate their work and family domains with relatively impermeable borders, and generally separate work and family tasks physically and temporally. Compared with the other groups they are more diverse in the amount of temporal flexibility they incorporate into the division between work and family time. With the exception of Lisa (Child-Based Integration) this is also the only group containing members who made any reference to psychological borders between work and family domains. Because I did not incorporate the work/family border models into the theoretical framework until after the data collection phase, I did not discuss psychological themes of WFB directly with my participants. This generally limited the amount of data available in terms of psychological work-family borders. It is thus interesting that almost all of the women who did discuss this type of border, in terms of thinking about elements of work and family domains, used the same WFB strategy. Their statements indicate that it is somewhat difficult to segment their work and family domains psychologically. Dorothy's statement reflects this:

> You know it's sometimes nice to be an employee and just being able to walk out and come home and not think about it till the next day you know?

Chris explains that during her "free time" she often spends time thinking about work:

> You do a lot of thinking about where you want to be and what you want to do. For instance if the child went to bed at 7:00 at night and you don't go to bed till midnight, well all of a sudden you've got a whole evening but you can't leave, all you can do is sit there and you know you can do housework, you can talk on the phone or you can figure out how you can do something better so that you could sell it.

While discussing her childcare arrangements, Theresa indicated the importance of not having to worry about her children while she is at work:

> *Theresa*: I wanted to make sure that the ... I mean the physical facilities were safe and fun for kids. And that they had field trips and events and creative things and so on, language and you know all the things.
> *Interviewer*: Ok.
> *Theresa*: It was the only one I would put them in, otherwise I wouldn't have gone back to work. Because if you don't have peace of mind when you're here, you can't, you can't help people if you're worried about something else.

There is unfortunately very little data to work with in terms of psychological borders. Both Theresa and Dorothy appear to show a preference for segmenting work and family psychologically. While Chris indicates that she often thinks about work during family time, she does not specify that this is problematic, so it is impossible to infer her preferences in terms of psychological border placement and maintenance.

In terms of overall patterns, the Child-Based Integrators used flexible and permeable borders between work and the care of their own children, but established stronger borders between work and other aspects of their family domain. The Child-Based Segmenters used relatively impermeable and inflexible borders, separating work and childcare, but were willing to allow family intrusions into the work domain. In contrast, the Work-Based Segmenters were more likely to allow work interruptions into the family domain over permeable borders. Like the other Segmenters, those creating borders based on their own personal preferences also preferred to separate work and childcare over relatively impermeable borders, but did allow cross-border interruptions between domains.

Work-Family Balance Over the Life Course

In the theory Chapter I identified four elements of the life course perspective as being relevant to the discussion of balancing work and family demands over time: the timing of life transitions within a social and historical context (lives in time and place); interrelationships between individual life transitions and family ones (linked lives), the impact of earlier life events on later ones (timing of lives) and the ability of individuals to make choices and act upon them (human agency). I this section, I discuss the impact of these elements of the life course perspective on the Adaptive WFB strategies.

All of the women in this study lived out their transitions into self-employment within the same social and political context, and were exposed to the same structural choices and constraints. In this way they shared similar socio-historical contexts of lives in time and place. One element of that social structure with direct implications for balancing work and family demands is access to supplemental childcare. Although the Canadian government does not provide parents with universal access to, or fully subsidized child care programs, all of the women participating in this study did have the opportunity to obtain supplemental care for their children. At some point in their life course progression, 20 of the twenty-four women participating in this study used some form of external (non-parental) childcare.

Inadequate access to high quality, subsidized childcare is one aspect of the national social and historical context impacting on women's decisions to enter self-employment. Moreover it reflects that the women in this study negotiated transitions into motherhood and transitions in and out of income-generating work in a time and place that offered only limited support for those choices. In essence childcare programs, and access to trained in-home childcare providers (i.e. nannies) in Canada offer the opportunity of obtaining non-parental care, with constraints in terms of inadequate access to high quality programs, and substantial individual cost to parents.

Within this shared social and historical context, some of the women in this study chose to limit interruptions in their work trajectories, while others chose to stay home for significant periods of time providing primary care for their children. While all women in the study shared the same social and historical context, they made different work and family decisions throughout their life courses. The different patterns in their choices reflect individual *agency* within the same social and historical context. They also reflect how the *timing of lives,* in terms of how transitions within trajectories impacted on subsequent events in other trajectories. I discuss the impact of agency,

linked lives, and timing of lives throughout this section in pursuit of clues to why these women adopted different Adaptive WFB strategies.

Child-Based Integrators

In terms of WFB strategies over time, it is interesting to note that two women using the Integration strategy exhibited similar work and family trajectories. Both women left high school, entered paid employment, married, had children, returned to full-time employment, became full-time homemakers, and then entered self-employment. Both also completed community college diploma programs and when employed, worked in jobs related to their education. Their post-secondary programs were not related to childcare, and were thus not related to their subsequent self-employment.

With post-secondary certification and work-experience, these women had access to paid employment, and in that sense were not 'pushed' into self-employment through lack of employment opportunities. Both women left paid employment, became full-time homemakers, and eventually entered self-employment in order to stay home full-time with their children. Both recognized this as a financial sacrifice, but nonetheless chose this arrangement over the alternative of paid employment with full-time childcare. In the passage below, Samantha describes her decision to leave paid employment to stay home full-time:

> We would weigh all the odds and at the time it was just like, we've had double income for so long now, and what are we going to do without it? When we had double income we bought lots of things that we can't afford to do now, like a bedroom suite. Like I would use expensive cosmetics and shampoo, and I can't afford that any more. I had to sacrifice little things to quit my job, personally for me this is what I had to do. But you know, I could never picture myself going back to work full time, even when (youngest daughter) is in grade one. Financially obviously it would be much better for us all around but we don't want our kids in daycare.

Samantha also reasoned that the combined costs of returning to work full-time outside of the home in terms of childcare, transportation, and clothing, along with her preference to be available to her children, made work outside of the home economically unfeasible:

> *Samantha*: And then to pay child care for that, before and after school kind of thing is about $250 a month per kid.
> *Interviewer*: No kidding.
> *Samantha*: Yes. It's ridiculous. You know?
> *Interviewer*: And that's in an after school care program?

Samantha: Yeah, yeah. They have in a school actually that they just started last year in our school and that's what it is per kid. No matter if they're 15 minutes before and 15 minutes after school. So you know for me now, like if I ever thought about it, for me to actually go out and get a job I'd have to be making like $15 an hour in order for it to be even worthwhile. All my expenses, child care, vehicle, clothes, everything you know? In order for me to make it worthwhile. Like I mean if there's someone out there that does go .. it doesn't matter. You know like I have to work, I can't stay home and you know and that's fine, like I mean if that's what you chose to do but I just could never see it and I don't want my kids doing that. Its just not gonna happen.

Given that Lisa was the only income-earner in her family at the time of the interview, income from her day-home was essential to her family's economic survival, and operating the day-home allowed her to both contribute to her family financially while simultaneously being available to her children.

Exploring why these women entered self-employment relates elements of the life course to role of children as primary motivators of their WFB Strategy. A number of elements motivated entry into self-employment for these women. Key among them was the value they placed on providing primary care for their children. Values are standards that members of a society use "to judge behaviour and to choose among various possible goals" (Spencer, 1985: 16). The values that individuals hold are social in origin, and are "strongly influenced by the specific culture in which they happen to live" (Giddens, 1997: 586). Moreover they contribute in shaping both society and individual actions, exemplifying the structural constraint of individual action (Giddens, 1997: 11). While structurally motivating behaviour, there is still room for individual agency in the influence of values, as we can choose our primary values from a range of alternatives. We will see this particular value (mothers as preferred primary caretakers) repeated by women using very different WFB strategies, however, so this value alone is not sufficient to fully account for adopting an Integrative strategy.

The presence of children, and a preference for providing primary childcare are clearly affiliated with this strategy, and emphasize the impact of *linked lives* on entering self-employment and in integrating work and child care. The principle of linked lives specifies that "all levels of social action interact and mutually influence each other" (Geile & Elder, 1998: 9). Rather than choosing to enter self-employment as a unique work arrangement that might facilitate work and family balance, these women chose to stay at home and care for their own children, and were able to gain additional income by caring for other children as well. In other words, they became self-

employed because they wanted to stay at home full time with their children. They were mothers first, or primarily, and self-employed workers only in support of this position. There is also some similarity in terms of *timing of lives* or *strategic adaptation*, in which individuals "respond to the timing of external events and undertake actions and engage in events and behaviour to use the resources available" (Giele & Elder, 1998: 10). Both women tried to coordinate external child care with paid employment, and found this combination unsatisfactory. The lack of satisfactory alternatives to primary care subsequently contributed to their decision to enter self-employment.

Child-Based Segmenters

While the Child-Based Segmenters did not exclusively arrange their work schedules around their children's needs throughout their careers, they show clear evidence of interrupted work trajectories. Like the women utilizing the Integrative Strategy, the women using Child-Based Segmentation strategy, with the exception of Anna, Chloe, and Nina, were full-time homemakers for substantial periods prior to their children entering school. Shelley mixed full-time employment with three separate two-year periods of time as a full-time homemaker prior to starting her current business. In Nina and Chloe's cases long-term full-time homemaking was not possible (regardless of whether they would have sought it out as an option) because they entered self-employment when their children were very young.

In this group, Anna was the only woman who combined full-time, long-term paid work with early child-rearing, forgoing any substantial tenure as a full-time homemaker, primarily because she had her children while she was a student in medical school and did not want to forgo her career in order to raise her children. In addition to her commitment to her career, and her level of formal education, Anna was also distinct from the other women using this strategy because she was a lone parent for a significant period of time when her children were very young. She did not express any regret in terms of spending time away from her children when they were very young, but did have a great deal of difficulty finding suitable, stable childcare arrangements. She was thus the only woman in this group who did not substantially interrupt her work trajectory provide primary care for her children. With the exception of Anna and Chloe, who were immersed in their professional career development while their children were very young, the Child-Based Segmenters showed a clear preference for providing primary care for their children until they

entered school. This preference continued after their children reached school age, as reflected in the pattern of matching working hours to school hours.

In addition to taking time away from work to accommodate birth and early childcare, these women also subsequently limited their total work hours to match their children's schedules. Matching working hours to school hours meant that the women in this group worked fewer hours in paid labour, on average, than women utilizing the other strategies. This pattern was facilitated by the higher average personal and family incomes of the women in this group when compared to the personal and family incomes of women utilizing the other strategies. Women in this group had an average personal income level in the $30,000 to $39,000 range, and an average total household income level in the $125,000 to $149,000 range. Considering the impact of husbands' earnings thus also sheds some analytical insight onto individual scheduling decisions. The women utilizing this strategy did not state explicitly that they limited their working hours because they could afford to, they justified their working hours in terms of the needs of their children. When compared to women using the other strategies, however, these women clearly had more advantaged financial situations both personally, and through their husbands' income, again highlighting the impact of linked lives on WFB strategy decisions.

The women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy enjoyed the highest average total family incomes of all groups. This level of income meant that husbands were able to provide support for this strategy through their economic contribution to the family. Based on statements regarding household work and childcare activities, it appears that the husbands of women using this strategy were somewhat less supportive in terms of sharing family-related work in the home. The research completed for this project was not designed to precisely measure the amount of time individual adults spent in paid and unpaid labour, but rather to gain a general sense of how women combined work and family tasks. For this reason it is not possible to compare actual work loads of husbands and wives, or of women using different work/family strategies.

What did emerge from the interviews, however, was that the women in this group, like the women using the Child-Based Integrative strategy, claimed the major responsibility for household and child-related work within their family units. This pattern does not distinguish this group of women from general findings on research examining the gendered division of household labour, but does distinguish them from the Work-Based and Personal Preference schedulers, who

expressed more obvious sharing of home-related work with their husbands. Nina describes her household division of labour in this way:

> I would say (my husband) the biggest income holder in the house. So he's really busy at what he does and then when he is at home, he's really tired so it's not like he doesn't do anything. When he's on his time off, he does do his stuff but it ... I enjoy what I'm doing. Like housework, I like to do it myself. When it comes to cleaning, I'm a freak, I like doing it myself. I create my own work.

Absent from the descriptions of household labour within this group are claims that husbands share equally in daily tasks. Kristin is the only woman in this group to offer an exception to this general pattern. She stated that she and her husband split household work evenly, but that in terms of child care, she did more work:

> *Interviewer*: In your family who does what in terms of daily chores?
> *Kristin*: Oh I cook, my husband does dishes. I do the laundry, he folds the laundry. I clean the major part of the bathroom, he cleans the mirror and the countertop. What else is there? Yeah I do the front yard, he does the back yard. So we're very ... actually our division labour is very, how do I say? We divide our chores up?
> *Interviewer*: So is it equitable then do you think?
> *Kristin*: Very equitable. Except childcare, sometimes he ... I find that I have to consider the timing versus him. He still goes to work from 9-5, 9-6. I, I have to be flexible enough to accommodate my children. He does not. He is not involved, he's not involved in the children activities consciously so to speak.

It is possible to argue that the women in this group completed the majority of household and child-related chores because their limited working hours left them more time to complete those tasks. Important to keep in mind however, is that women's primary responsibility for activities in the family domain rarely varies in response to changes in their working hours (Arai, 2000: 139). In addition, the Child-Based Integrators worked longer hours, but still accepted major responsibility for domestic work in the home. For these reasons it is difficult to determine whether limited hours spent in paid work had any impact on the time that the Child-Based Segmenters spent in unpaid domestic work. A more likely explanation, given the underlying pattern of interrupting paid work to accommodate the arrival of children, along with ongoing primary responsibility for childcare and domestic work, was that these women are adopting a traditionally gendered division of labour, enacting the cultural default of female responsibility for unpaid work within the home (Luxton, 1990: 39).

In addition to reflecting the needs of children in the way they schedule their work, these women also indicated that the needs of their children played an important role in their decision to enter self-employment. Glennis entered self-employment after six years as a full-time homemaker. At that time, her youngest child was not yet in school, but Glennis arranged her work around her husband's schedule so that he would be available to care for the children while she was working:

> I was just totally excited ... and the fact that I could still be home with the kids. I didn't have to leave them cause I didn't want to leave them and I could be home at night. I would just book work when (my husband) was home so it was ... I totally booked it around, around his schedule and the kids', and I was thrilled cause I thought, it gives me a bit of money and I can do as much as I want. I can do one show a week or three or one a month, whenever I wanted. It didn't ... and it was not bad money. It's about like $75 an evening. I thought it was pretty good.

Glennis' statements reflect the central role of children in her decision to enter self-employment. They also indicate that she scheduled her work around her husband's availability to care for their children while she was working, avoiding the need for external childcare.

The role of children in decisions to enter self-employment is evident throughout all the interviews for this study, but is particularly strong for this group of women. Three of the women who were utilizing a Child-Based Segmentation strategy at the time of the interviews had relied on external childcare at some point earlier in their careers. However, all of the women identified self-employment as an opportunity to schedule their work around their children's needs. Anna made a significant career change, from a paediatric hospital physician to a psychiatrist in order to be more available to her children, stating:

> I elected to do private practice, limiting the kind of patients I had, the kind of work I did because my kids were still quite dependent on me. I thought that going into psychiatry was very compatible with raising children, so my choice of specialty had a lot to do with the fact that I had children. If you're doing an office practice in psychiatry you can set your own hours, and I did not have hospital beds so I was not on call. I would be available to my patients by phone but I would not necessarily be seeing them evenings and weekends. That was for my kids.

Nina also expressed the influence of children on her decision to become self-employed:

> We're both self-employed (referring to herself and her husband), and that was a big motivation for me. I wanted to be able to have that luxury, to own a business but have the luxury to be able to do whatever I want with my kids.

As with the Child-Based Integrators, we see evidence of the impact of family-based values on decisions to enter self-employment. Kristin's statements reflect this pattern:

> *Kristin*: I told my supervisor that I was going to quit.
> *Interviewer*: Ok, you were going to quit because?
> *Kristin*: Because of my family, my time. I, I could not sacrifice my baby's time for my work. I felt that it was more important for me to be a mother and a nurturing, a caregiver, versus an employee. And I stayed at home for seven years after that because I find that I need, I have the responsibility to look up to my child and then of course my second child comes along and I stayed home until they go to school.

In addition to the value they placed on being primary caregivers for their children, these women also expressed the importance of the independence of personal income. Glennis identifies this as one of her primary reasons for starting a home-based business:

> I always wanted to have my own money. I had to have my own money so that if I bought my husband a gift he wouldn't know how much it cost, that's just how I always wanted it. I just wanted to have a little bit of independence of having my own money. I wanted to do a home business but I didn't really know what I wanted to do, like what type of home business, but I knew that I wanted to be at home with the kids and make money. It was really important to me to be home with the kids. It was a priority.

Although she expressed that spending more time her children was a primary motivation to enter self-employment, Shelley did not always use this value to make decisions about combining her work and family domains. Prior to entering self-employment, Shelly had a long and successful professional career in an unrelated occupation, and although she gave birth to her children during that time, her primary motivation was toward having her own source of income:

> And because I was in my thirties I hadn't really thought of motherhood as part of my, my life. I had been striving for a career and one of the reasons, was because my father died when I was thirteen and that put our family from a middle class family within a couple of years into poverty, virtual poverty. So as a teenager, I grew up with virtually nothing. Going from you know a nice home to living in basement suites, never enough money for clothes, never enough money for school books hardly and my mother went into a depression and she was a nurse and quit work and then we ended up on welfare and in those days it wasn't social assistance that supported you like it does today. So there was a lot of trauma in my early childhood surrounding finances.

This early financial trauma motivated Shelley to develop her own career and financial stability. Although she took a break from paid work following the birth of her first daughter, she found this to be very difficult, as it undermined her financial independence:

> So for me, when I realized I was pregnant and gonna have this child and for the first time my husband said to me well you really gotta stay at home with this child for awhile. And I think that you shouldn't be going back to work and I really struggled with that...But the first six months I was home, I just about went crazy. And I realized what it was is my loss of control. My loss of control and being dependent financially on another person.

She returned to full-time employment when her first daughter was 18 months old, but left again seven years later when she was offered a promotion that would require significant amounts of travel and time away from her family. Her statements below reflect that family considerations had replaced money as a primary motivating factor. She turned down a promotion, and left the bank completely, telling her supervisor:

> I've decided that I really have to do something to show my children that there's a way of life that allows you to do it all. There's got to be a way that I can move ahead and not compromise my quality of life with them. I never bought into the idea that as long as you spend twenty good minutes a day with your children that that was enough. I never bought into that.

She entered self-employment after a period as a full-time homemaker, and in her current arrangement, arranges all work-related tasks around her children's schedules.

When compared to the Child-Based Integrators, these women expressed a broader range of motivations and values influencing their entrance into self-employment. Clearly the range of entry motivations among the Integrators was limited because only two women used this approach. Nonetheless there are clear differences between groups. Both groups highlighted the importance of providing primary care for their own children. Many of the women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy also valued having their own source of income.

The Child-Based Segmenters were also more likely to be self-employed in occupations related to their post-secondary education. Neither of the Child-Based Integrators had post-secondary education in childcare. In contrast, Rose, Shelley, Kristin, Anna, and Chloe all completed post-secondary programs related to current businesses. Rose, Chloe, Shelley, and Kristin completed post-secondary business training, and operated businesses focusing on bookkeeping, accounting, marketing, and finance. Anna completed medical training, and worked as a psychiatrist, leaving her initial career as a paediatric physician, but remaining in the health industry. By preparing for their occupations through post-secondary education, Child-Based Segmenters had a heavier investment in human capital prior to self-employment, and likely had higher expectations for financial remuneration from work. This pattern contrasts with the

Integrators, who recognized that their work arrangements limited their personal income, yet deliberately chose this arrangement in order to be fully accessible to their children.

Work-Based Segmenters

Among the Child-Based Integrators and Child-Based Segmenters we saw clear patterns of interrupted work careers, in response to transitions in the family trajectory – most notably the birth of children, and their movement into school. Incorporated within those interruptions were a number of extended periods of full-time homemaking or domestic work. This pattern reflected the impact of *linked lives* and the *timing of lives* over the life course for the women using these strategies. There is some overlap between these effects, and in combination they mean that the birth of first children (transition into motherhood) and ongoing presence of children led many of the women using Child-Based strategies to interrupt progression within their work trajectories.

That pattern is not as clearly evident among the women using the Work-Based Segmentation strategy. As an example, Sandy began self-employment before her daughter was born, and initially integrated work and childcare. This strategy did not require her to take a long break from her own career. With the exception of Mary and Sue (both midwives), all other Work-Based Segmenters interrupted their work trajectories for standard length maternity leaves, and subsequently returned to full-time employment. Mary had her first child shortly after college and did not engage in any employment until she became a midwife fifteen years later. Sue returned to full-time employment after her first child was born, stayed home full time for one and a half years after the birth of her second child, and then began her midwifery training. There is a pattern of discontinuity following childbirth among women using this strategy, emphasizing the impact of the transition into motherhood in the family trajectory on the mothers' careers in the work trajectory. However, the disruptions were much shorter than in the preceding groups, and long periods of full-time homemaking were relatively rare.

While Child-Based Integrators and Segmenters reflected the central role of children in their motivations to enter self-employment, the Work-Based Segmenters reflected more work-related or personal statements and values. Again this reflects a weaker impact of linked lives within the work trajectories of the Work-Based Segmenters. Mary and Sue both referred to their entrance into midwifery as "a calling" to the profession, resulting from their own experiences of childbirth accompanied by midwives. Jacquie stated that her motivation to start her own business resulted

from her desire to work in her own home, to work with people, and to work with her hands. Stacey explained her entry motivations I this way: "I always wanted to do something on my own, but never really had an idea what it was that I wanted to do." She indicated that while she initially thought that working at home would eventually allow her to spend more time with her children, having children "certainly was not the deciding factor" when she purchased the business. Rather than seeking out self-employment as a work arrangement, Paulette works as a contractor because this was the work arrangement offered by her initial clients. She stated that her overall preference for work in the future was to work at home, but not necessarily in self-employment, as she did not feel that her type of contract work provided enough financial security.

Sandy was the only woman in this group who mentioned family considerations as the primary motivation to seek an alternative form of work, but rather than a desire to become self-employed, she was searching for work that would allow her to be closer to home:

> *Sandy*: Yes we moved for his work. Cause I was more transferable as far as getting a job and so we moved out here, we got married. Then I still stayed working in sales but I was travelling quit a bit then with health care cuts, I got laid off and so was looking at doing something, doing something else at, at that time. As far as medical sales there weren't a lot. Anything else that was in sales, it was a starting position with some degree of travel and at that stage we knew we were gonna start a family, so I looked at starting my own, own business with, with that in mind cause if I was going to put ... I got tired of travelling. I didn't wanna do that anymore and so what was I gonna do? So I started the company.

The Work-Based Segmenters stated a number of different motivations to enter self-employment, including the ability to work from home, flexibility, job requirements, and being "called" to the occupation. The value of providing primary childcare that was prevalent among the Child-Based Integrators and Segmenters was absent within this group. Instead the focus is more on features of the work arrangement itself. Rather than being primarily motivated by their family circumstances, through the impact of linked lived and timing of lives, when entering self-employment, these women reflected more work-oriented and individual preferences.

While transitions in related trajectories had little impact on entry motivations for Work-Based Segmenters, they were similar to both Child-Based groups in terms of primary responsibility for unpaid domestic work. With the exceptions of Stacey and Mary, all Work-Based Segmenters indicated that they completed the majority of domestic work within their homes. Stacey uses a housecleaning service every two weeks to do her major cleaning, shares the remaining home-related work with her husband, while Mary's children do the housework in her home.

Applying the life course perspective to the analysis, and collecting retrospective accounts of WFB over time revealed that the women in this study often did adopt different WFB strategies over time, in response to changes in their work and family domains. A number of Work-Based Segmenters reflect this pattern. Sandy initially integrated her daughter into the work, by working when her daughter was sleeping, or keeping her daughter in a playpen in the garage while she packaged her products. As her company grew, it became much more difficult to complete the increasing amounts of work while her daughter was sleeping, particularly when her orders were coming in, so she sent her daughter out to a babysitter. In Sandy's case, while she initially tried to integrate her daughter into the work process, she found that this became increasingly difficult with the changing needs of both her daughter and her company. Her strategy adaptation reflects the both the impact of linked lives, in terms of her daughters changing needs, as well as changes in overall workload in her business. She now schedules her own time, as well as her daughter's childcare arrangements around the seasonal patterns of her work-related demands.

Sue made substantial changes to her workload over time, as she attributed excessive working hours to problems within her marriage and with her children's behaviour. Although she was not motivated to enter self-employment for family reasons, being self-employed allowed her to adapt her practice over time in response to difficulties within her family domain:

> *Interviewer:* How did you make the decision to become a midwife?
> *Sue:* It certainly wasn't a monetary or a career choice. It was more a heart, I have to do this sort of thing.
> *Interviewer:* And so did you have any expectations at that time, did you plan ahead at all or think ahead about it would be like to ... to mix the two together? Work and family. Did you think about it in those terms?
> *Sue:* No. Not at that time I didn't. Basically at that time I felt like I was being run by midwifery to a certain extent and that's all I thought about, that's all I cared about, that's all I .. it was the most important thing to me and as time went on and we had struggles in our family and I had to take a period of time off to deal with that and that's when I realized that that was not a very good way to be living. So that's when I started to re-balance but it never was a thought at the start.

The preceding examples illustrate that the women in this group made a number of different types of changes to their WFB strategy over time, by manipulating a variety of features of both their work and family domains. Sandy switched from an Integrative strategy to one in which she segmented her work and childcare, by placing her daughter in external childcare (an change in the family domain). She made this decision because as her workload grew, and her daughter became

more mobile, it became more difficult to effectively attend to both her daughter and her work simultaneously. In this case changes in both the work and family domain motivated Sandy to adapt her WFB strategy. Sue adapted her strategy by cutting back on her client load, and thus overall working hours, because she felt that she was spending too much time in her work domain.

Overall, when the women in this group have adapted their WFB strategies over time, they have tended to make most adjustments within the work domain. Primarily, and in contrast with the women using the preceding strategies, they made early WFB accommodations within their family domain by placing their children in external childcare. Their stories reflect that WFB strategies are dynamic over time, and highlight that these women make accommodations in both their work and family domains when seeking a more effective balance between them.

Personal Preference Segmenters

Viewing WFB strategies over the life course reveals a number of important similarities between the women using the Personal Preference Segmentation strategy. In terms of life course location, the women in this group were youngest, and all had at least one pre-school aged child requiring some form of supervision during working hours.

Although most of the women using this strategy rely on external childcare, they also express the importance, or value, of being available to their families. The opportunity to be available to, but not necessarily in direct contact with children during working hours was a common theme among entry motivations for these women. For some, this motivation led them to choose not only their work arrangements, but their occupations as well. For example, one of Theresa's main motivations for becoming a chiropractor was to be able to control her schedule. She stated "I wanted a life where I could set my own hours to some extent and still be able to choose the hours with the family, when to be with them, even during the day." Margie shared a similar desire to be available to her future children:

> But I always wanted to... I needed to have a business that I could do out of my house. I grew up having my mom at home all the time. She quit her job. She had a very wonderful job, quit it to raise the five of us and it meant the world to me coming home at lunch and my mom was home. Coming home after school and my mom was home. I loved it so I told my husband 'I don't want to work out of the house. I don't want a career. I want something where I don't need to ask you when I need to buy something or can I have an allowance, but I need to be home for the children.'

While Theresa and Margie chose their occupations with the needs of future children in mind, Marianne and Cindy already had one child each when they entered self-employment. Rather than choosing specific occupations, they sought to obtain some form of income that would allow them to work at home. While Cindy was working part-time as an employee, she used a babysitter to care for her oldest child. After an exceptionally negative experience with the babysitter, Cindy decided that she needed to find a way to gain an income while caring for her own son. When I asked Cindy how she decided to make the transition from paid work to an unrelated business, she answered:

> *Cindy:* I don't know. I really don't know. It's funny cause I remember the whole incident where we were sitting in the garage one night, my husband was tinkering around doing his garage thing and I just blurted out "dog grooming." I just blurted it and he just stopped and looks at me. He's like "what?" I said, "dog grooming." He says, what are you talking about? And I says, that's what I'm gonna do. And he's like, "Ok. Go investigate it, go figure it out."

Cindy had no background in dog grooming, and had never owned a dog prior to becoming married. Rather than being drawn to the occupation per se, she was trying to find a type of business that she could operate from her own home, in order to be close to her children. Marianne was similarly motivated to work at home to be available to future children:

> *Marianne:* We needed the income. Like I mean just with one income we just didn't really have enough ... there's just not enough coming and especially when I always wanted four kids so ... and you know well to pay for the kids. It's just expensive, so. So we just thought if we could find something that we could do at home and eventually for my husband to quit working. That would be perfect and I could stay home and we'd be able to spend a lot more time with the kids and not having to put them in daycare and all that cause we didn't really want to put them in daycare. Not that there's anything wrong with it but for us we wanted to, to be more, more with them and do it more on our own.

Rather than seeking out a specific occupation, Marianne and her husband chose to establish a home-based company, they subsequently identified a need in the local community for a kennel, and Marianne worked in the kennel alone until it began to generate enough income to support them both as full-time workers.

Within this group, Marianne and Cindy chose to work at home in order to be available to their children, and subsequently established businesses to fulfil that goal. Margie and Theresa chose their occupations deliberately with the needs of their future children in mind, and were family-oriented in this regard. Dorothy left her job as an employee due to de-regulation in her

industry, entering self-employment in order to take advantage of changing opportunities within her industry, prior to the birth of her first child. In Dorothy's case, entering self-employment was motivated by business rather than family reasons. Chris's initially become self-employed at the suggestion of her previous employer, who asked her to come back as in independent contractor after her maternity leave. She had negotiated a work-at home arrangement before the birth of her first child, and later found that this work arrangement was an effective way to combine work and family. After establishing herself as a contractor with her preceding employer, she chose to expand her at-home business. Like Dorothy, Chris' initial motivation to enter self-employment was business, rather than family-related. Overall, the women using the Personal Preference strategy were motivated by a combination of work and family related issues when establishing their businesses, and show more variety in terms of initial motivation than the women using the other strategies.

In terms of the overall context of WFB, the women in this group exhibit a range of approaches to housework. Some claim major responsibility for both housework and childcare, two utilize weekly housekeeping services to complete most domestic work, and others express an equal sharing of domestic work with their spouses. Chris attributes her majority share of domestic work to the home location of her office, and describes a traditionally gendered division of labour in the home:

> *Chris:* Oh I think I probably take on about 90% of the childcare and the housework but mostly because I'm there you know?
> *Interviewer:* Right.
> *Chris:* You know ... you know if you get up to stretch for the computer, you go upstairs ... some people at work go and hang around the coffee cooler and gossip, you go upstairs and do the dishes or make the bed. I mean it's just taking a break, doing something different. My husband does generally all the harder work, traditional things for men. Mowing the lawn, shovelling the walks, any kind of maintenance on the house. Doing the heavy guy stuff. But I mean he doesn't do any of the cooking, he's not comfortable with that. But if I need some help with the kids, I need him to take the kids out of my hair because they've been driving me crazy, he'll take them swimming.

Cindy describes the domestic division of labour in her home as a "combined effort," relaying a relatively equal sharing of domestic work with her husband:

> It's a combined effort. David does a lot but we still have our Sunday morning power cleaning sessions you know from the time you know we'll get up at 9:00, sit down for an hour, have a coffee, plan the day, read through the paper, whatever for that hour and then it's up and for about three hours and until it's like you know what, I don't wanna do this

> anymore. Just give-er. And it's laundry, it's washing the floors, vacuuming, bathrooms, beds, like, just giving her, doing as much as you can and then, I think we both still you know, he does the cooking mostly. I'll cook Sundays and Mondays you know on my days off and he'll do all the cooking but for, for cleaning up I think it's more ... I'd have to say it's more combined. He does more tidying. He's a tidier and I'm a cleaner.

In addition to their contribution to domestic work, some of the husbands of women in this group are also involved directly in their wives' business operations. Although he joined the business three years after it opened, Marianne's husband now works more hours in the business than she does. Dorothy's husband coordinates her international currency purchasing, and takes calls from clients when Dorothy is not travelling. She estimates that he spends ten hours per week in the business, and has developed his own relationships with some of her clients, taking on a "public relations" role within the company. Cindy's husband has recently become a part-time employee in her company. Prior to working with her in the shop, he completely renovated both the basement workspace and the new store. In terms of directly participating in business operations, husbands of the Personal Preference schedulers were the most active.

Like all other women in the study, the Personal Preference Segmenters adopted different Adaptive WFB strategies over time, reflecting the impact of *linked lives* on transitions in both work and family trajectories. For example, when Cindy began her business, she integrated work and childcare. As her business grew, she found that she was not able to adequately supervise her children while working. Changing demand in her workload led her to adopt a segmenting approach to work and childcare.

The impact of the *timing of lives* was unique within this group, as these women were more likely than women using other strategies to either enter self-employment or choose an occupation that would facilitate WFB before they had children. They were cognizant of the potential work-family benefits of self-employment prior to entering this work arrangement, and made anticipatory decisions about their work trajectory to facilitate transitions into motherhood within the family trajectory.

The life course perspective highlights a number of important distinctions between the women adopting the different WFB strategies. Women who make work and family decisions in order to meet the needs of their children (Child-Based), regardless of whether they integrate or segment their work and family domains, showed patterns of long interruptions in their work trajectories to accommodate the arrival of children. Women using the Work-Based and Personal

Preference strategies were more likely to return to work immediately after their maternity leaves. In addition to spending longer periods of time at home with their infants, the Child-Based strategists also were more likely to mention their children when describing their primary motivations to enter self-employment. Women using other strategies discussed a broader range of entry motivations, including access to flexibility, control, and independence through self-employment. In terms of the household division of labour, almost all of the women in the study held the major responsibility for domestic work in the home. The women adopting child-based strategies described very traditional divisions of labour, while those in the remaining strategies were more likely so share domestic work with their husbands or purchase domestic services from outside agencies. Stories of altering strategies in response to changes in work and family domains over time were evident throughout the interviews. The final section of this Chapter examines whether elements of structuration theory are able to add further distinctions between the Adaptive WFB strategies.

Agency and Structure: the Impact of Self-Employment on WFB

In this section, I discuss how the women in the study addressed structural constraints and utilized individual agency when creating their Adaptive WFB strategies.

Child-Based Integrators

These women provide intriguing examples of the interplay between agency and structure, both in the organization of their work on a daily basis and in their changing strategies over time. The lack of access to high-quality affordable day care is a significant structural barrier to full time female employment (Ranson, 1995: 32). Lisa's experiences with formal day care were a significant contributing factor in her decision to open her own day home. Samantha was able to find partially satisfactory unregulated care for her older daughter, but chose to leave an exceptionally stressful employment situation in order to stay at home full-time. For these women, the 'choice' to enter self-employment was mediated by significant structural constraints, "placing limits upon the range of options open to an actor" (Giddens, 1984: 177).

Arguably Lisa's decision to open a day home was influenced by inadequate access to childcare and an impending financial crisis brought on by her husband's unemployment. Samantha's decision to enter self-employment was directly motivated by her daughter's desire for playmates, but was also indirectly the result of a stressful working environment. Given that these

women had the lowest combined level of education among all groups, it would be possible to argue that they were "pushed" into self-employment by low levels of human capital. It is also necessary to consider however, that both women had previously held employment in their chosen fields, and left paid work for full-time unpaid domestic work in the home before entering self-employment. The immediate need for a source of family income contributed strongly to Lisa's decision to open a business in her own home, and it is difficult to determine if she would have made this same choice if her husband had not lost his job. The overall pattern of access to full-time employment followed by full-time domestic work indicates that these women chose self-employment as a reasonable way to combine income-generating work and childcare, rather than being pushed into this work arrangement through a lack of alternative access to the labour market.

While their choices to enter self-employment may have been partially constrained by external structural exigencies, these women did exhibit significant control over the structure of their day-to-day work in terms of timing and location. This contradicts Callister & Dixon's (2001: 6) conclusion that low-income self-employed workers have very little control over their working time. These women had the lowest average income of all groups, and yet their descriptions of their daily routines express substantial personal influence, albeit fundamentally motivated by being fully available to meet their own children's needs. Lisa offered expanded operating hours in order to gain more control over her choice of clients. Samantha established very clear boundaries between work and family time in order to limit the incursion of paid work into family time – delimited by her husband's daily return from work. Within the constraints that led these women into self-employment, they were able exert substantial control over the structure their own work arrangements. Lisa was very clear that being self-employed allowed her a great deal of control over her working situation:

> I'm the one that's calling the shots and I'm the one not being taken advantage of. I don't know if I'd ever be able to work for somebody else again. I probably won't because it would be too strange to have somebody ordering me around. I couldn't imagine it now after being in control for so long.

While both women indicated that operating day homes kept their income very low, they felt that it was a reasonable trade-off given that it allowed them to fulfil an overriding goal to be available to their children. In other words, both women recognized that operating day-homes restricted their income-earning capacity, but planned to maintain these businesses in the future, so

that they could continue to be available to their children, even after they entered the formal school system.

Child-Based Segmenters

The women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy established working hours around their childrens' schedules, worked the shortest average work- weeks, and described traditional gender-based divisions of labour in the home. These women completed the majority of household and childcare-related tasks within their families. They recognized and valued that self-employment offered them some control over their work arrangements, particularly in comparison to paid employment. Because their current work arrangements were so flexible, it was easy for them to arrange schedules and work locations around the needs of their children.

Comparing her current work arrangement to her previous experience as an employee, Chloe explains how being self-employed allows her to make decisions about (control) her working hours, and how this in turn facilitates childcare:

> I dreaded going to work because I had to leave the kids at home but with self-employment I could chose what days I was going to work. If I needed a sitter, I could arrange it and have a sitter that day and it was my choice. It wasn't that I had to be there everyday and take them out everyday and all the stress that goes along with getting the children ready to go out of the house in the morning. It was... it was my choice.

In describing her entry motivations, Nina identified that one of the most prominent benefits of self-employment was the ability to choose her own working hours, "and have the luxury to be able to do whatever I want with my kids." Kristin reflected similar prominence for the role of control in her decision to become self-employed when she stated, "I decided I'll go on my own because I want to take control of my life and my time." Clearly the opportunity to gain control over time, and to use that control to facilitate childcare was a prominent motivation to become self-employed for women using this strategy. Their experiences within this work arrangement further reflect that they had few problems in effectively integrating paid work and childcare, and within their families, childcare responsibilities fell almost exclusively upon the mothers.

As structuration theory points out, repetition of individual action builds social structures. Social structures are constituted in action, and they both express and are expressed in the routine activities of daily life (Ranson, 1995: 286). Routines of daily practice became translated into social structures, repetitive behaviours became easier to complete, and difficult to transfer to others.

Once these women accepted responsibility for childcare and domestic work in the home, and continued to engage in those activities over time, they gained "speed, efficiency, and competence" which in turn became "the basis for ongoing responsibility" (Ranson, 1995: 286). For these women, and the Child-Based Integrators, the freedom of self-employment became the freedom to accept major responsibility for all domestic work in the home. It also meant that they were "free" to schedule their working hours around school schedules. Keep in mind however, that a number of these women utilized these traditionally gendered patterns of responsibility for domestic work before entering this work arrangement, and stated clear preferences to be available to their children. The flexibility and control of self-employment may have reinforced their responsibility for tasks within the family domain, but it did not create this responsibility, as most of them already adopted traditionally gendered work and family patterns before entering self-employment.

Work-Based Segmenters

The women who utilize a Work-Based Segmentation strategy to schedule their work and family time expressed less control over when they work than the women utilizing the Child-Based Integrative and Segmentation strategies. Essentially the scheduling strategy for this group is *reactive*, generated in response to structural demands of work (limitations on working hours set by contracting organizations), or the workload that they are willing to accept in order to increase revenue or 'build the business'. A number of women in this group expressed that they were willing to set their work hours around client demands in order to help their business grow. Jacquie's experience reflects this style of scheduling. Recall from the discussion of control in Chapter seven that Jacquie initially booked clients whenever they wanted appointments, and although she tried to restrict her work schedule to three days per week, continued to book appointments on demand, stating, "But in some ways you have to bend over backwards too for your clients right? Your clients are your employers. You gotta make them happy." In order to make her clients happy, and to build up her client base, Jacquie developed a schedule that was inconvenient for both herself and her family. Even after designating specific weekdays to her business, she found that she still booked appointments throughout the week so that she would not have to turn clients away. Moreover, this sporadic schedule made it difficult to for Jacquie to obtain childcare, a problem she did not encounter when she worked regular hours as an employee:

> So it was hard starting off at first you know cause I felt like I was working all the time at inconvenient times or I had to phone for a sitter. I couldn't let her know when my hours so

> that was really hard to on my sitter. I actually went through a couple sitters because of it, because I couldn't tell her you know oh well these are my hours. Like when I worked at the dental office that was easy. I knew when I worked. I didn't work past three, I didn't work ... you know it didn't change. It was easy that way. But then now I had a sitter saying well I'll let you know a day in advance. What else could I tell her? So it was hard.

At the time of our interview, Jacquie had recently hired an employee to work in her home, to continue her business while she was on maternity leave. Although her initial efforts to gain control over her schedule had failed, she hoped to expand her business, and with the help of her employee, establish more regular hours in the future. In this case the flexibility of self-employment translated into a situation where client demands dictated when Jacquie worked, taking a substantial portion of control over the work process out of Jacquie's hands.

Jacquie was not alone in her struggle to gain control over her schedule. Sandy also hoped to gain more control over her schedule by integrating a computer program into her work process that would streamline her record-keeping, inventory, and ordering. Stacey reflected a similar desire to redesign her workflow so that she could gain more control over the process, by pre-packaging some orders, but was unable to find time to do this, as her existing workload was so heavy (on her questionnaire she estimated that she worked between 60 and 120 hours per week). In each of these cases client demands, and the self-employed workers' desire to meet them, led to the creation of significant structural constraints over the labour process.

Paulette and Luanne's scheduling patterns also resulted from client demands, but reflected client relationships that were unique within the sample. Rather than having multiple clients, and trying to increase revenue by expanding their client bases or streamlining their work-flows, these women worked as independent contractors with very limited client-bases. Paulette contracted out her services to two clients, while Luanne had only one. Although these women self-identified as self-employed (meeting the selection criteria for the study) it is important to note that their work arrangements more closely resembled those of "disguised-employee contractors," who are often dependent on a single client for work, like employees, but must assume responsibility for their own benefits, work within guidelines specified by the client (including the way the work is done, and how it is scheduled); and provide the tools for their labour (Gringeri, 1996: 184; Lowe, Shellenberg, & Davidman, 1999: 8; Revenue Canada, 1998: 5).

Although these women assume some of the risk associated with self-employment (such as limited health benefits, and the possibility that their contract can be terminated without notice), they

did not accrue the benefits of independent business ownership, such as the opportunity to increase profit or independently establish working hours or conditions (Gringeri, 1996: 184). While Paulette's working hours and locations were set by her clients, Luanne had more flexibility, and she changed her work location and hours throughout her relationship with her client, trying to find an effective way to meet her work and family demands:

> When I originally started working (with this company), I was actually an employee and worked at the main office, but the workload was just way too high. I never had time for my family, you know? I thought maybe if I could work at home, I would have more say over when I worked. There were other people who worked here who worked at home, but they were contractors, so I negotiated a setup where I worked as a contractor, and got to work at home. I thought I'd be able to control work better that way, but the workload really didn't change, it was just more in my face, you know?

Although she currently works primarily from home, her client (previous employer) also provides her with office space and a computer at their main location. She coordinates all of the conference planning for her client, and her workload and schedule varies in response to the number of events that they give her to plan. Unlike Paulette, who works within a relatively predictable schedule, Luanne's schedule changes with variation in her workload, a workload that is determined by her only client.

Although the women in this group generally established their working hours in response to client demands, or structural limitations within their working environment, they did exhibit some control over aspects of their work and family time within this context. For example, while the midwives had no control over when their clients would give birth, they limited the overall impact of the work domain on the family domain, particularly in the temporal aspect, by limiting the sizes of their client base.

While responding to client demands was an inevitable feature of self-employment in midwifery, other women scheduled in response to client demands so that they could build or maintain client loyalty, particularly while the business was young. Jacquie's stated, that she had to "bend over backwards for her clients" while building her business reflects this pattern. Stacey explains how her work impacts on her family time, and her expectation that this will decrease over time:

> Stacey: I thought I would be spending more time (with my family) than I actually am, but I think I still am spending more than I would be if I had a traditional job. But I mean realistically, I never thought right away that I would be able to spend the time that I truly want to spend with my family because in your first couple of years of business there's no

way you can, I mean you have to focus a lot on the business otherwise it's not going to succeed.

She also explains that even though she works in response to client demands, she retains control over how she spends her time:

> Stacey: My time is actually that, my time. I make the decision as to when I want to do something, but that's the one thing you have to be good at it is time management because if you start to let things slide, it's eventually going to come, come overflowing at you.

Like Stacey, Rachel has temporal flexibility over some elements of her work process while responding to client demands:

> For the tasks that involve just me, I can basically do them anytime, I mean if I want to work in the middle of the night, like my writing, and my plans, then I can do that. But as long as I'm working with clients, depending on their urgency, then it's on their schedule, and you have to work around that.

For Jacquie and Stacey, working in order to meet client demand appears to be a reactive scheduling strategy, mediated by external social forces. Within these constraints, however, both women engage in their current workload and schedules believing that meeting client demands is essential to the growth of their businesses.

More than any other group, the women using this strategy express difficulty in gaining control over structural constraints and demands in their work domain while seeking WFB. Tenure in self-employment offers some insight into why this pattern exists. A number of women using this strategy, including Jacquie and Stacey, indicated that they were trying to gain more control over their schedules and hoped to be able to achieve this at some time in the future. Their experience reflects the fact that with the exception of the Integrators, the Work-Based Segmenters had the shortest tenure in self-employment. It is possible that as their businesses develop over time, some of the women using this strategy will adopt more proactive WFB strategies.

It is also important to note, however, that the nature of some of the occupations among women in this strategy make controlling work schedules exceptionally difficult. The midwives offer a clear example of this, as their work hours will always be determined to a large extent by the natural process of childbirth, which is completely beyond their control. Hardwick & Salaff (2001: 6) argue that jobs can be broken down into "hot" and "cool" categories reflecting the differential ability of individuals to "control the interdependencies of work conditions" including the flow of daily work

tasks. In this formulation, "cool jobs" are those jobs in which the worker can "control when and where they work," while workers with "hot jobs" must "respond immediately to their work partners' queries and demands and cannot easily postpone their work" (2001: 6). Regardless of how long the midwives remain self-employed in this occupation, if they continue to offer birth support of clients, which clearly resembles Hardwick & Salaff's definition of a "hot job," they will remain unable to control the schedule of their working hours. Thus, increasing tenure will not necessarily bring increased control over the work process.

Related to the issue of tenure and the common pattern of reacting to client demand in order to "build the business" are issues related to income. As identified in the summary of personal and business characteristics, the women in this group had the second lowest average levels of both personal and family income. Building the business in terms of expanding client bases and keeping existing customers happy was clearly related to increasing the amount of profit and personal income provided by the business. The desire to gain more income motivated at least some of these women to react to client demand, hoping to increase their own income through the business.

Personal Preference Segmenters

Like the women using all other strategies, the women in this group described both structural, external limitations on their choices as well as distinct agency in meeting work and family demands. More than any other group, however, they incorporated their own preferences when establishing the temporal and spatial division of work and family domains, and in choosing occupations or work locations to meet their goals for work and family combination.

Cindy's approach to scheduling her work time reflects her own preference to devote significant hours at work, as well as the constraint of her obligation to spend time with her family. Prior to her husband's retirement, Cindy established a schedule that required her children to spend six hours per week in the store. Cindy employs two other groomers in her business, and could have scheduled them into the rotation during after-school hours, and left work with her children when their school day was over (a choice that would have made her scheduling choices similar to the Child-Based Schedulers). Instead she chose to establish a schedule that involved some inconvenience for her children (when the children spent time in the store, she said that they had to "suffer it out"). This choice reflects Cindy's own personal preference in establishing her work

schedule (rather than scheduling around her children's needs or the needs of clients). Cindy describes herself as a "workaholic" and says that she would spend more time at work than she already does, but moderates her overall work hours so that she can also be available to her family. In scheduling her work in family time, she exhibits both control over her own schedule and the constraining demands of her family for her time.

Theresa chose her profession in order to allow her autonomy over her schedule, with her future family in mind. Theresa also deliberately established a work location (downtown) and schedule (weekdays during standard office hours) that limited intrusions of work into her family time. It is possible to argue that Theresa's education, occupation, and relatively high hourly wage contributed to her ability to exercise control over her own schedule. Marianne provides an important counterpoint to that argument, however in that high school was the end of her formal education, and her work is relatively unskilled. Nonetheless, she negotiated, with her husband, a work schedule that allowed her to seamlessly combine her work and family domains. While the schedule of work in the kennel is somewhat dependent on the needs of the animals, having a partner in the business who is also a partner in the family, allowed Marianne a great deal of control over her own work and family time and space. Moreover, Marianne and her husband adjusted their working hours as they became more established in their business:

> We have our hours set and we stick to our hours. We do have, like if they want they can drop off after hours, but they have to pay 20 dollars. And we just do that because we used to let people drop off and pick up whenever, at the start, and it just got to the point where people would come at any time. It was just ridiculous, they'd be like, "can I pick up my dog at 11:30 at night?" and I'd be thinking, "well, I'm in bed." We know that they want to see their dog and all that, but we have a family too, so in order to get that balance, we set these new rules, they have to pick up their dogs before 6 o'clock.

In this way they imposed a structure on their operating hours to minimize the impact of client demands on their time, and were able to limit work intrusions into family time.

In discussing whether she would ever leave self-employment to return to work as an employee, Dorothy explained that she found that paid work was too restrictive. She stated, "I would have to deal with being more restricted, and for my personality I don't think that works." In the same discussion she indicated that she had enough "discipline" to establish a set of standardized working hours in her home, that were very similar to her workdays that she held as an employee. For Dorothy structured working hours offered an effective schedule, but they were more acceptable for her when she set them herself than when they were imposed by an employer. In

this case the ability to control working hours was more important than having flexible working hours. While the set schedule was arguably structured, Dorothy did not find it constraining because she had the option of changing the schedule to meet her preferences, even though she chose not to use that option.

In keeping with the theme of incorporating personal preferences into their WFB strategy, these women made few statements expressing external structural constraints on their work and family decisions. They did not establish work schedules around their children's schedules, and they did not set schedules in reaction to client demands, at least not at the time of the interviews. These women had a longer average tenure in business than the women using the Work-Based Segmentation strategy, and there is evidence in their stories that at least some of them previously set schedules in response to client demands. Cindy, Chris, and Marianne all indicated that they had established more control over their schedules as their businesses grew and were now much less likely to make exceptions to their schedules in order to meet client demand. This pattern suggests that there is potential for women currently reacting to work-based demands to adopt a more proactive WFB strategy in the future as their businesses mature.

While they did not respond to external constraints when setting schedules, this does not mean that these women avoided structure within their work arrangements. In contrast, there is ample evidence that at least some of these women imposed more structure into their working time, especially as their businesses developed. One of the central arguments of structuration theory is that structure can be both enabling and constraining. It appears that among the Personal Preference Segmenters self-imposed structure, particularly in terms of working hours, can enable or facilitate WFB.

Elements of structuration theory provide interesting insight into the diverse WFB strategies. All of the women in the study described their ability to exert agency within the work domain, even when they established their temporal and physical work arrangements in response to external (work/client) demands. Similarly, women with very diverse backgrounds in terms of educational attainment and work experience, who would likely have very different experiences as paid employees, were able to have a substantial impact on their working arrangements. In terms of social structure at the broadest level, all of the women in the study established their companies and their WFB strategies within a society that does very little to assist their efforts. Within this context they exhibited substantial agency in managing their work and family domains. The Work-Based

Segmenters expressed the most difficulty overcoming structural constraints, in terms of ongoing and persistent client demands. There is evidence among the other strategies, that this pattern is not uncommon, particularly at early stages in business tenure. This, along with the transitions between strategies identified by the life course analysis, implies that the Work-Based Segmenters may be able to move beyond their current reactive strategies, to gain more individual control in their work domain over time.

Throughout this Chapter, I have used the theoretical framework to expand the analysis of the Adaptive WFB strategies that began in the preceding Chapter with their identification. The goal in this chapter was to determine whether the theoretical framework could substantiate differences between the Adaptive WFB strategies, offering support to my claim that they are indeed distinct approaches to WFB. This Chapter identified differences between strategies in terms of preferences for flexibility and permeability in borders between work and family domains, in how elements of the life course influenced women to adopt different strategies over time, and in how agency and structure interacted in different ways within the different strategies. In the next Chapter, I synthesize the analytical insights from this chapter, relating them key themes from broader work-family and self-employment literatures, identified throughout the discussion of the social and academic contexts of this study. In addition, I discuss the outcomes of the study in relation to the design of the research project.

CHAPTER 10 – SUMMARY AND INTEGRATION

Three basic research questions motivated this research project: "What does 'work and family balance' mean to self-employed women?" "How do women balance their work and family demands?" And "What impact, if any, does self-employment have on WFB? Although I developed a number of supplementary questions throughout the research process, these two basic questions served as the primary foundation of the project. Underlying these research questions was my goal to develop WFB as stand-alone concept, capturing the active nature of "balance" or a "balancing act" instead of focusing on responses to overwhelming conflict. Answers to the research questions generated two substantial findings: that the women in this study consider time, flexibility, and control as fundamental dimensions of WFB, and that they used these tools to develop a number of adaptive strategies for pursuing WFB. Identifying the diverse range of WFB strategies among self-employed women also contributes to the growing discussion of heterogeneity within this work arrangement.

Using Adaptive WFB strategies to meet competing work and family demands involved establishing and maintaining borders between the work and family domains, and adopting different strategies over time in response to changing needs. The strategies are a combination of degree of integration across work-family borders, and the primary factors that motivate border placement and maintenance decisions. The women identified their children, their work demands and structures, and their own personal preferences as primary motivating sources for making work-family border decisions.

Themes of time, flexibility, and control emerged throughout the interviews. Most of the women felt that they needed more time or at least more control over their existing time in order to generate or improve their WFB. They also believed that when compared to their own previous experience as employees, being self-employed offered them more control and flexibility over work, which they could use in pursuit of WFB, particularly in the way they managed their work and family time. I used this identification of the key roles for control, time, and flexibility as a launching point for a description of the different ways that women in the study scheduled their time in pursuit of WFB. After searching for similar themes in the academic literature, I located and was able to incorporate theoretical insights of the work-family border models into the analysis. In particular, the work-family border models specified how individuals place and maintain physical, temporal, and

psychological borders between work and family domains, and how they incorporate flexibility and permeability into those borders.

I combined insights from the work-family border models with primary motivations into four distinct strategies for balancing work and family demands: Child-Based Integration, Child-Based Segmentation, Work-Based Segmentation, and Personal Preference Segmentation. Recognizing different strategies for balancing work and family demands raises questions about their relative effectiveness. In other words, are some strategies more effective at facilitating WFB than others? At this stage in the research process it is difficult to make conclusive statements about effectiveness, as women adopt different strategies for different reasons, and the strategies can be more effective at promoting WFB in different ways. For example, for women who want to be able to gain income while still being fully available to their children, the Integrative strategies can be very effective at facilitating WFB. In some cases women in this study moved away from Integrative strategies when their work and family domains changed, and Segmenting strategies became more effective. Rather than suggesting that any one particular strategy is more effective, it may be more appropriate to contextualize the argument and discuss under which conditions certain strategies are more effective. There is ample opportunity to expand this argument in future research projects.

The women in this study clearly are working towards meeting obligations of work and family careers that do not necessarily complement one another. Work demands make it difficult for these women to be available at all times and in all ways to their families, particularly when clients place immediate demands that have to be fulfilled if the business is going to survive. However, because self-employment can be so flexible, especially when compared to previous employment experiences, a number of these women were able to interrupt their work in order to attend to their children's needs (being present for school events, for example). The women in this study were active in establishing, maintaining, and adapting their work and family borders across time and space. The flexibility and autonomy inherent in self-employment facilitated adapting borders in response to work, family, and personal needs.

Developing a successful business enterprise requires a substantial amount of time and effort. A number of women in the study identified that client demands made it exceptionally difficult to prevent work intrusions into family time and space. One woman (Sue) chose to drop out of self-employment completely for two years, attributing problems in her family to her excessive and unpredictable workload. Others scheduled their work and family time in response to client

demands, but hoped to gain more control over their work schedules in the future as their business operations became more secure. Interestingly however, even women who claimed their workloads and schedules depended completely on their client demands stated that they felt they had a substantial amount of control over their time. Through flexibility and *perceived* control, self-employment allowed women substantial freedom to establish effective work-family strategies. While control and flexibility generally facilitated WFB, the women in this study perceived of and used these elements of WFB in different ways in the distinct strategies. I discuss the implications of self-employment for WFB in a later section of this Chapter.

Facilitating WFB, and making it easier for women to meet work and family demands, had an interesting side effect. By allowing women to more effectively meet the competing demands of paid and unpaid work, this work arrangement actually ensured "that they continue to accept responsibility for both" (Green & Cohen, 1995: 312). As a flexible and relatively autonomous work arrangement, self-employment can further entrench women's obligations within their own families in terms of childcare and domestic tasks. This pattern held across all strategies, although the Personal Preference Segmenters revealed the most equitable split of domestic work with their husbands. In this way, in addition providing freedom to balance work and family, self-employment can actually increase responsibility for elements in the family domain to a level even greater than it may have been if these women had been in less flexible work arrangements.

Insights from the Theoretical Framework

In the analysis Chapters I described the four general strategies that study participants used to coordinate work and family time and space, in pursuit of WFB. In addition I explored patterns in the family contexts and life course trajectories of these women in an attempt to discover why the distinct strategies exist, and to theorize about why women who share similar work and family characteristics choose different WFB strategies.

The combined theoretical framework of the life course perspective, structuration theory, and the work/family border models provided the analytical tools necessary to identify that adaptive WFB strategies exist, and that they change over time in response to events in interrelated work and family trajectories. In isolation each of these theories would have provided substantial theoretical insights, and in combination they provided a much more comprehensive picture of the

ongoing, responsive negotiation of WFB over time. Structuration theory highlighted that self-employed women exist in a context of both freedom and constraint, balancing the autonomy of self-employment with external pressures to develop flourishing business while meeting their competing work and family demands. This theory highlighted that individuals can move beyond the structural constraints of "client demand" to gain more individual control over their work and family domains as they gain tenure and a consistent client base for their businesses. It also allowed me to identify that as self-employed women use the flexibility and control of their work arrangement to gain a more effective balance work and family demands, they also essentially reinforce their own responsibility for meeting those demands (Green & Cohen, 1995: 312; Ranson, 1995: 286). By gaining efficiencies in WFB through self-employment, these women cement their own positions as the primary caretakers of the family domain. Exploring how the freedom of self-employment actually entrenches women's responsibilities in the domestic realm adds to an ongoing discussion of how flexible work arrangements essentially solidify women's disadvantaged "structural positions within the labour market and society" (Green & Cohen, 1995: 312, Gringeri, 1996; Phizacklea & Wolkowitz, 1995; Rangel de Paiva Abreu & Sorj, 1996; Silver & Goldscheider, 1994).

Viewing this process over the life course extends the analysis of the freedom and constraint of WFB over a much broader temporal horizon, and considers how historical time and social contexts impact on WFB decisions over time. Examining the WFB experiences of the self-employed women in this study through the life course perspective highlighted that women often make their decisions to enter this work arrangement because of changes or transitions in related trajectories. A number of women in the study were full-time homemakers for substantial periods of time, and only entered self-employment when their children entered (made the transition into) formal schooling. Others became self-employed after first becoming mothers, so that they could both earn income and provide primary care for their own children. Others entered self-employment from employment arrangements when they could not adequately balance competing work and family demands. These interrelated transitions and trajectories reveal that seemingly independent decisions are often mediated by a number of complex social relationships.

In addition to identifying the salience of interrelated trajectories, the life course perspective also situates individuals within a particular historical or contextual time and place (Elder & O'Rand, 1995: 453). In doing so, the perspective identifies that individuals make transitions, and progress through their trajectories within a structurally mediated context. I argued in Chapter two that one of

the primary reasons that work and family balance is so difficult for working Canadians is that governments, employers, and families have made few adaptations to the massive increases in female labour force participation over the past 25 years. This institutional resistance to widespread change in the social context has left individuals to develop their own creative solutions to difficult work-family combination.

Life course theorists differ in their interpretations of how much influence social structures have over individual life course progression. Structural theories indicate that pathway transitions are controlled by external social agencies such as schools and governments, allowing very limited room for individual decisions to impact on the life course (Heinz, 1992: 9). In contrast, individuation theories suggest that individuals have the "freedom to make their own decisions, and to construct their own biographies" (Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993: 260). This continuum within the life course perspective echoes the fundamental division between agency and structure that provides the foundation of Giddens' structuration theory. Structurally constrained theories of the life course are unable effectively to account for innovations or disorderly progression through individual life courses. The heterogeneous life course transitions of the women in this study provide ample evidence that individuals clearly make decisions that impact trajectory progression. Their own experiences identify the need to recognize some human agency in variable transitions over the life course. By recognizing the interdependence of lives and historical times, and acknowledging the impact of human agency over the life course, the combination of the life course perspective and structuration theory identified the significant social and contextual constraints and freedoms that impact on individual WFB strategies over time.

While a life course perspective that acknowledges individual agency identifies how WFB strategies change over time, in response to both personal decisions and structural constraints, it offers little conceptual support for identifying specific work and family strategies, particularly in how they operate in the minute daily decisions and behaviours of individual actors. While life course researchers often focus on a broad temporal perspective, tracing transitions in trajectories over a life span, the self-employed women in this study also created WFB strategies through the manipulation of work and family borders on a much smaller temporal scale, in the daily coordination of work and family tasks. The work-family border models provided the conceptual tools necessary to identify that individuals achieve WFB by manipulating physical, temporal, and psychological borders between their work and family domains. These models highlighted the daily

practices and techniques of WFB, and when supplemented with the life course perspective made it possible to see that individuals often change their WFB strategies in response to life course changes and transitions over time. Together, the three-part theoretical framework made it possible to identify distinct WFB strategies, and to identify how and why individuals adopted different strategies over time, in a context of individual agency and structural constraint. Viewed through this framework, the self-employed women in this study balanced work and family demands by manipulating their work-family borders in response to their personal preferences, their adherence to socially mediated values, and the structurally constraining demands of clients, workplaces, husbands, babysitters, and children.

This study provided an opportunity to contribute to the work-family literature by expanding its focus beyond work-family conflict (Barnett, 1998: 126). The focus on conflict identifies work-family combination as a "problem" with often overwhelming negative repercussions (Becker & Moen, 98: 2). In turn, viewing work-family combination as problematic suggests that women who work full-time in the labour force are dysfunctional in some way, working against the practical and efficient division of paid-public and unpaid-private labour. Researchers using this approach focus their efforts on isolating social groups with the most intense stress and conflict, and conclude that employed women with children are at highest risk. By focusing on the "problem" of work-family conflict, these researchers have neglected to systematically address the techniques and patterns of effective work and family combination, and how these vary by personal, family, and life course characteristics. There is some evidence that work-family strategies vary by divergent social role adoption. Women in this study who valued elements of family over work were more likely to use the Child-based Integrative and Segmentation strategies. There is thus some utility in incorporating knowledge of social roles into understanding proactive WFB strategies. Role theory researchers have been less effective in recognizing that innovative practices, proactive strategies, and challenges to existing social role restrictions offer substantial room for understanding effective work and family combination. The analysis Chapters revealed multiple accounts of innovation in WFB strategies over time that fundamentally challenge the static nature of the role theory approach to work-family combination. The next section reviews the dynamic nature of Adaptive WFB strategies.

Work and Family Over Time

It is important to note that the self-employed women in this study often modified elements of their WFB strategies in response to the changing needs of children and work over time. Some women transferred their home-based businesses to external locations as their businesses grew or changed. Cindy and Chloe both made this transition. In other cases, women who initially flexibly integrated work and childcare found that standardized schedules for work and childcare became more efficient as their business grew, and required more of their time. Chris and Sandy both followed this pattern. There were also changes in the primary *motivations* for making work-family decisions, so that movements from child- to work-based (Sandy), work- to child-based (Mary), and work- to personal-based (Margie) and child- to personal-based strategies (Cindy) were all evident in the sample. Locating patterns between type of childcare and growth of the business is complicated by the fact that in this sample some women were self-employed before having children, while some became self-employed after their children were born. It does appear however, that as the businesses grew and required more time and involvement, the women in this study tended to favour stronger temporal and physical boundaries between work and childcare, and were more likely to move from integrative to segmenting strategies.

The women in this study had youngest children ranging from infants to 18 years old, and exhibited a broad range of experiences in terms of managing work and childcare demands. They all pursued both work and family careers simultaneously, usually placing equal emphasis on fulfilling goals within both realms. Unfortunately, as summarized by Giessler and Kruger, this goal of combining work and family "does not fit with any institutionalized life course pattern at all, because these two areas of life still differ in structural logic and behavioural requirements" (1992: 161). Namely, children do not utilize the same temporal perspective that we tend to utilize in productive labour – their demands are often task-oriented, and without regard for the linear, clock-based organization of standard work days.

Despite the familiar association between female self-employment and the presence of young children throughout the self-employment literature, the women in this study (with the exception of the two Integrators) did not regularly combine paid work with the care and supervision of their own children (Carr, 1996; Boden, 1999; Hughes, 1999). Some of the women did try this approach for short periods of time, but essentially found that it was both difficult and ineffective. While self-employment did not generally allow the full-time combination of paid work and childcare,

it did offer a tremendous advantage over more regulated employment relationships in that the women in the study were able to interrupt the linear flow of work, through the flexibility of self-employment, to integrate the sporadic and less time-sensitive demands of children (or their schools). A number of women in this study mentioned attending functions at their children's schools during their regular business hours, for example.

During occasions when both children and their schools wanted mothers to be available, for short and sporadic time periods during regular working hours, the flexibility of self-employment made this type of disruption feasible. This type of flexibility frees mothers of both pre-school and school-aged children to be available to attend to their children during working hours, an opportunity that is not often available to workers in more structured work environments. It also means that the benefit of the flexibility of self-employment (in terms of being available to children during working hours) extends over a long range within the life course of self-employed women.

The women in the study did not use self-employment as a method of avoiding external childcare, as women utilizing all of the scheduling strategies except Integration relied on some form of external childcare at least part of the time. While the women often were able to use the flexibility of self-employment to interrupt work to attend to family needs, they were not able to complete work demands during times when their family did not need them, there are simply not enough hours in the day. In practice, this means that there is no time during the life course of a self-employed mother when childcare becomes irrelevant. Children need to be cared for by someone when the mother is working, at least part of the time, except for in the rare cases when women are able to fully integrate children into the work process.

Although the women with older children did not need to spend as much time in direct supervision of older children, those children were occupied for a majority of their time by school events that kept them out from underfoot when the women were engaging in income-generating activity. In many cases, it was the designation of school hours that set the women's work schedules. Although they considered themselves to be in control of their working hours, using the flexibility of self-employment to balance work and family, it was the removal of the children from the home during hours established by school boards that had probably the greatest impact on when those women set their work schedules. They felt they had control over their work, but it was the absence of their children that made income-generating work possible.

Although the care and supervision of children was the most salient demand in the home domain for all women in the study, it was not the only element in that domain - domestic work and husbands (not usually in that order) were also important. Very few husbands directly contributed their own labour to their wives' business. There was some variation, however, as one husband was a full-time business partner, and one was an employee, and in a limited number of other cases, husbands contributed a few hours per week to the business or helped out when workloads became particularly intense. With the exception of one husband who was a full-time student, all of the men worked full time and contributed to the family via their income. Interestingly, personal and family incomes were clearly related to the distinct strategies. The Child-Based Segmenters worked the shortest average hours, but had the highest individual and family incomes, and it is possible that they were able to work Child-Based schedules because their income made work-hour restriction possible. The inverse argument may hold for the Work-Based Segmenters, who had the second lowest personal and family income levels, just ahead of the Child-Based Integrators on both measures. While the Child-Based Integrators worked in an occupation (childcare) that offers notoriously low wages, this was not the case for the Work-Based Segmenters, and yet they still had relatively low incomes among the women in this study. Although I did not discuss the impact of income on hours of work or type of schedule with study participants, the relationship between income and strategy is an interesting one that deserves further scrutiny in future research.

The women in the sample described traditionally gendered divisions of domestic labour, with wives shouldering the major responsibility for domestic and childcare tasks and husbands doing the majority of outside work. As businesses changed over time, wives sometimes adjusted their work/family borders in response to requests from their husbands – particularly in limiting work-related phone calls after business hours. Although almost all of the women in the sample claimed the major responsibility for domestic work within the home, they had different methods of combining domestic work with paid work. This was particularly evident among the women who worked at home. Some women used short breaks during their workdays to "throw in a load of laundry" or "do some vacuuming," while others stated very clearly that they preferred not to do any housework during their established work hours. Working at home provided an opportunity to incorporate some domestic work into the business day, but not all women chose to do so.

In terms of career continuity over time, the arrival of children had an inevitable impact. Almost all of the women took some time away from work following the birth of their children,

although in keeping with national patterns, those who were self-employed when their children were born returned to work much more quickly than those who were employees at the time (Marshall, 1999: 22). The women in the study entered self-employment from a number of different places, including long-term homemaking, post-secondary education, full-time employment, and unemployment. There was some clustering by strategy, but the clearest pattern occurred with the Child-Based Segmenters and Integrators who were most likely to enter self-employment after long periods of time as homemakers, or to have been homemakers for long periods (more than one year) in the past.

Adaptive WFB Strategies and Heterogeneity within Self-Employment

When preparing for this research project, I sought to incorporate heterogeneity in the sample through variation in the structural components of self-employment; in particular though own-account vs. employer status and through industry location. The purpose for creating heterogeneity in the sample was to gain access to a wide variety of work and family combinations, and to explore the relationship between self-employment and WFB. The women in the study identified time, flexibility, and control as primary dimensions of WFB. Most suggested that self-employment facilitated WFB because it provided access to these tools, but for some, self-employment made WFB particularly difficult. This pattern was most common among the women with the shortest tenure in business. Overall, self-employment facilitated WFB, while offering some potential roadblocks in terms of time and energy demands. Interestingly, the structural features of self-employment that I used to incorporate heterogeneity into the sample had very little impact on interpretations of WFB and the Adaptive WFB strategies that emerged from the data.

Employer vs. Own-Account

I divided the sample into Employer and Own-Account self-employed in order to generate heterogeneity in the sample. In Canada, Employer and Own-Account self-employed differ on a number of dimensions. They are concentrated in different industries and occupations, and exhibit substantial differences in terms of weekly hours and income from self-employment (Hughes, 1999). While including both own-account and employer self-employed mothers in the sample contributed to capturing the heterogeneity in experiences within self-employment, there was no clear relationship between type of self-employment and type of Adaptive WFB strategy, except that

neither of the Integrators had employees. Four of the seven Child-Based Segmenters had employees, three in retail (Glennis, Nina, and Shelley), and one in health services (Anna). Three of the eight Work-Based Segmenters had employees (two in business services, one in other services). Only the Personal Preference Segmenters were more likely to be employer than own-account self-employed, with three of five women in this group employing other individuals. This finding provides some evidence that having employees may facilitate incorporating personal preferences into scheduling decisions. Unfortunately the pattern of employer vs. own-account self-employed across the different strategies is not strong enough in this particular sample to adequately justify that conclusion.

Industry

As with employer vs. own-account status, there were few obvious links between overall industrial classification and Adaptive WFB strategy. At the time of the study, both Child-Based Integrators were located in Other Services, and both were childcare providers. Beyond this clustering, the industrial classifications were distributed throughout the strategies. Clearly the specific occupation of midwifery had a significant impact on how Mary and Sue managed their work and family time, making it necessary to respond to client demands in setting work schedules, but other workers in the Healthcare industry adopted Child-Based Segmentation (Anna) Personal Preference (Theresa), and Combination (Margie and Clare) strategies. While I had initially thought that working in the Retail industry would place significant constraints on working hours and location, women working in this industry were evenly divided between Work- and Child-Based strategies (all of them segmenting work and child care). Thus, as with employer and own-account status, this structural component of self-employment had little visible impact on choice of Adaptive WFB, with the exception of individuals in very precise occupations within these categories.

Work Location – Home vs. Office

The work-family literature is divided in terms of the impact of homework arrangements on WFB. I did not use this division when selecting the sample, but respondents did vary on this dimension. Thirteen participants worked mainly at home, four worked mainly in office locations, five combined home and office locations, and two (Sue, Mary) worked in "other" arrangements, essentially combining home-based work with client visits in multiple locations. While many

researchers imply that self-employment, and homework in particular, facilitates the integration of paid work and childcare, the evidence contradicting this claim continues to grow (Jurik, 1998: 27; de Paiva Abreu & Sorg, 1996: 96; Phizacklea & Wolkowitz, 1995: 17).

Like the employer/own-account distinction, at home or office/public location of work did not have a strong relationship with WFB strategies, except that both of the Child-Based Integrators worked the majority of their hours in their own homes. While both Sandy and Cindy initially operated their businesses exclusively from their homes and brought employees into their homes to work, as their businesses grew, both women chose to move the business operation to larger locations. At the time of the study, Cindy operated her dog-grooming business from a store-front location, and Sandy utilized warehouse space to package her products (with assistance from her employees), while coordinating distribution from her home. At the time of the study, both Marianne and Jacquie had employees working for them in their home-based businesses, but utilized different scheduling arrangements, as Jacquie scheduled her work around her clients' needs, while Marianne utilized a Personal Preference strategy.

While I had initially assumed that women working in public (i.e. store-front) locations would be more likely to schedule their work around the demands of their business, public locations were equally dispersed through the Child-Based, Work-Based, and Personal Preference Segmentation strategies. In addition, women in work arrangements that were very similar structurally, in terms of location, industry, and employer status for example, utilized very different scheduling strategies.

In order for women in public locations to utilize the Child-Based Segmentation strategy, they did have to have employees available to cover established store-front hours, or schedule appointments within predetermined limits. Nina operated a retail clothing store and worked while her children were in school, and always had at least one employee working with her in the store. This meant that she was available to her children during the day, to attend school functions, leaving her employee in charge of the store in her absence. Cindy operated a business that was very similar structurally, but chose to work longer hours, in a Personal Preference Segmentation strategy, and felt that having a store-front location made her work less flexible, because she had to be available to her clients, even though she had employees present to complete the work at the shop. While Anna worked out of her home at the time of the study, her initial psychiatric practice was office-based, and she limited her own hours to coincide with her children's school schedules, by having her secretary book appointments only during school hours. In keeping with the

heterogeneous nature of the study, however, Theresa worked in a very similar situation to Anna, and as a chiropractor was able to choose her own hours of work, but rather than schedule work around her children, she chose to work extended hours on some days so that she could work shorter hours on others as well as take days off during the week. So while Anna and Theresa both worked in health, had public locations and employees, and considered WFB as a major component of their decisions to enter their chosen occupations, they utilized very different Adaptive WFB strategies.

Self-Employed vs. Entrepreneurs

Earlier in the dissertation, I indicated that some researchers claim that there are qualitative distinctions between self-employed and entrepreneurial workers. Most notably, Dale (1991) argues that entrepreneurs are more innovative, creating their own business enterprises 'from the ground up', as opposed to purchasing existing businesses, or working within franchise organizations. In summarizing preceding entrepreneurial research, Dale concluded that individuals can be self-employed without exhibiting unique or innovative individual agency. By utilizing the criteria that entrepreneurs generate original businesses, without inheriting existing businesses, purchasing ongoing businesses or franchises, or joining existing organizations as independent contractors, 13 women in the study would qualify as entrepreneurs. I did not use this distinction as a selection criteria when obtaining participants for the study, but it nonetheless added additional heterogeneity within the sample.

As with the other structural distinctions already identified in the preceding discussion, entrepreneurs and self-employed workers are dispersed throughout the different scheduling strategies. There is one exception to this pattern: all of the women utilizing Personal Preference Segmentation strategy, qualify as entrepreneurs under the preceding definition. This is an interesting finding because the innovative approach to starting a business is matched by the innovative nature of the approach to scheduling work, as it is this strategy that relies the least on external cues (such as school hours, children's schedules, or client demands), and most on the women's own individual preferences when setting work schedules.

The Personal Preference Segmenters represent all industrial categories, operate employer and own-account operations, and work at both home and in public locations. Thus while they share an Adaptive WFB strategy, they are a very diverse group in terms of work location, industry,

and employer vs. own-account status. While the Personal Preference Segmenters were more likely to be entrepreneurs and to have employees, there are few other clear patterns between structural arrangements within self-employment and the Adaptive WFB strategies that emerged from the analysis. If we focus on the structural features of work, such as industry, location of work, employer vs. own-account status there are few clear patterns within the strategies. This does not serve as a limitation of the current study, however, because the primary goal here was to explore whether self-employed women created proactive strategies to balance their work and family demands. This study uncovered a number of distinct strategies, and offered some information about how and why individuals chose to adopt these strategies. Future researchers will be able to build upon the patterns that I have identified here, by applying the Adaptive WFB strategy model to different samples of working parents.

While the structural features of self-employment had little impact on choice of Adaptive WFB strategy, different strategies clearly exist. Overall, it appears that family and personal characteristics, including work- or family-orientation and life cycle stage, had more impact on the WFB strategy choices for the women in this study. This finding supports Carr's conclusion that family rather than work characteristics appear to structure women's experiences of self-employment (1996: 49). While Child-Based Integrators, Work-Based Segmenters, and Personal Preference Segmenters all had preschool-aged children in their homes, none of the women who chose to arrange their working hours around their children's schedules (the Child-Based Segmenters) had preschool-aged children at the time of the study. Without a retrospective account of the work histories over time, it would be possible to conclude that having school-aged children facilitated Child-Based Segmentation. However, a number of the women in this group also arranged their work schedules around their children before those children entered school (Kristin, Chloe, and Glennis). Thus while knowledge of life-cycle stage is important, adding the additional dimension of progress through the life course, through retrospective life histories, was also crucial to understanding strategy choices over time.

Control and Flexibility

While it was difficult to establish relationships in the data between structural features of self-employment and WFB strategies, there is an interesting pattern in the way women using the different strategies view control over work. Women using Child-Based Integration, Child-Based

Segmentation, and Personal Preference Segmentation strategies expressed more perceived control over the work process than those using the Work-Based Segmentation strategy, even when work location, employer vs. own-account status, and life cycle stage were similar. Women utilizing Child-Based scheduling stated:

- I would say I have a good 95% control over my day-to-day work (Nina).
- It's a control issue, I control when and where I want my time off, I don't have to ask somebody, I hate asking somebody for time... so in that sense I have total control of my time as a self-employed person (Kristin).
- The kids love to see me at home when they come home from school, they say 'oh, mom's home', and so I think that's the biggest advantage, and you can control it totally (Glennis).

Women using the Work-Based strategy expressed a very different view of perceived control over work:

- Because my customers dictate what I do, right from the start. I don't think anyone who is self-employed can say 'oh, I have 100% control over what I do.' Well, no you don't, because your customers make demands on you, they are the ones that kind of set you up... because right now I'm sort of working on demand (Stacey).
- So no, I don't have a lot of control because if somebody phones me, its very rare that I'm going to say 'you know what, I can't do it' (Jacquie).
- There are time when a customer would phone and you've got to do it right away and you don't have a choice and you're like, I'm up to here and my daughter's been sick, I've had no sleep or I'm not feeling well, how am I going to get it done ... it depends cause I've seen it, and most of the time I think (being self-employed) gives you more flexibility but there are times when there is no room for flexibility, they just, it has to done, it has to be done by a set date and those are the time when I find it really difficult cause I don't know whether kids sense that or not but that's the time when she'll get whiny and hanging off me and like 'oh please mommy' and you just can't get it done. But I have to get this done, I have to get this done (Sandy)

In some cases the women felt they had little control over work, just by virtue of being self-employed, but were able to take active steps to establish it:

- Do you have control of it? No. Cause you can't control when your clients are going to put demands on you and you can't control when they're going to call, and you can't control when the child is going to be sick and take up your whole day that you had planned to work. No, you don't have control, you have to create control by putting (your children) in daycare two days a week or making arrangements in the evening, or staying up late. (Chris).

Thus there is some evidence that while most of the women in this study felt that they had at least some control within their work domains, perceived control over work did vary between the

Adaptive WFB strategies. In particular, the Work-Based Segmenters express lower levels of perceived control than the women utilizing the other strategies.

There is also an interesting pattern in the data between flexibility and perceived control over work: even women who indicate that they have very little control over their work still view self-employment as a very flexible form of work. Stacy, who stated that her customers had complete control over her workload, also stated:

> It comes back to the flexibility issue. My time is actually that, my time. I make the decision as to when I want to do something, but that's the one thing you have to be good as is time management because if you start to let things slide, its eventually going to come overflowing at you.

When I asked Rachel if she had flexibility in her work, she responded: "yes I do, and I don't. I mean most of the time I do, and then sometimes I have to shove over family things that were scheduled because that's the only time I can meet with a client." These experiences indicate that while self-employment does offer some flexibility, it also requires a devotion to the demands of the business that can sometimes interfere with family plans. Thus being self-employed, while offering access to greater flexibility, also brings with it a sense of greater responsibility for the survival of the business, and economic stability within the family. . Stacy summarizes the relationship between work and family via the flexibility of self-employment in this way:

> Once again the flexibility thing comes into play. If I'm swamped, whatever might have been my responsibility (within the family) for that week, it's got to wait. The job pretty much works, the demands of the work take precedence over everything else. And primarily because its our source of income, if it falls apart so does everything else. So it has to be maintained at a certain level all the time. The other stuff can wait. You know, there are blankets on the couch or the chairs or there's the odd pair of socks just hanging around, oh well. People are going to have to excuse it if they're coming to our house. They know we're busy.

In essence, Stacy utilizes flexibility in both work and family domains. While she can take time off during the day to attend a field-trip with her daughter's school, her housework or family events may also have to wait when she receives work orders.

Although none of the women in the study expressed that they had reached a full and complete balance between work and family – for most of them, it was a work in progress – they did feel that self-employment offered a better opportunity to reach that balance than standard employment relationships:

- It's that flexibility thing, I think that's the biggest key in how it allows, it actually does allow me to more easily combine work and family than a traditional job would. Because if I'm away from my office, and if I had another project that needed to be done in the evening, then I would be taking myself away from my family where as here, I can really well if I want to work at midnight, then I can. It's the flexibility, it's the soul of it, I think, in allowing me to balance work and family, because you only have 24 hours in a day, and you've got to try to spend as much time with each part of family and the business that you can or that is necessary on any given day (Stacey).
- It's not so much even just the money, it's not, it's just the flexibility of working when I want to work and I like it, too. I don't think I could ever work for anyone else again. It would be hard. You know, someone else telling me when I have to work, what I have to do. I don't know if I could ever do it again, I don't think I could (Jacquie).
- Being self-employed gives you the freedom to balance it on your own terms. Being an employee you always have to go and ask permission. It's like you the subservient type, and I always found that very difficult, because what if they said 'no', and you really needed to do something? Then you were trying to find a way around it, or lying, phoning in sick, things like that (Chloe).

Given their statements about utilizing the flexibility of self-employment to assist them in work family balance, the agency within the work form becomes quite clear. Even though work demands can and do impinge upon family activities, and can even provide the structure for establishing working hours, the women in the study can and do act purposively within those constraints to meet both work and family demands.

The goal of this Chapter was to relate key findings from the study to broader issues within the work and family literatures. Beyond this, it related patterns in the strategies to heterogeneity in the structural characteristics of self-employment as well as to flexibility and control within this work arrangement. The discussion identified that family and personal characteristics had more influence over strategy decisions than did the structural characteristics of self-employment. In the final Chapter of the dissertation, I return to the academic and social contexts to discuss the place of this study within the broader work and family debate.

CHAPTER 11 – CONCLUSIONS

This research project examined how a group of twenty-four self-employed women managed to fulfil the often-competing obligations of their work and family lives. All of the women participating in this study had adult partners and children younger than eighteen years old living with them in their homes, and had been operating their own businesses for a period of at least one year. In order to fully explore how these women managed their work and family demands, I used a qualitative approach to data collection, and asked them recount through narrative histories (prompted by specific interview questions) how they combined their work and family domains over time. As is commonly the case with in-depth interviews, the data that participants provided was rich and contextually sensitive, and the interviews made it possible to explore individual experiences in substantial detail. This rich detail allowed me to identify different Adaptive WFB strategies and to identify key dimensions of WFB as a distinct concept, both substantial contributions to the work-family and self-employment literatures.

Contributions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Future Research

As I identified in Chapter one, this study addressed a prevalent sociological issue by focusing on a relatively unexamined group with a unique theoretical framework. This approach generated a number of very important findings, and I identified these throughout the analysis chapters. In this section I discuss those findings and insights along with limitations in my approach and the potential to improve upon these findings in future research.

This study effectively discovered and documented a range of Adaptive WFB strategies, and proposed a number of characteristics (often family characteristics) that led individual women to adopt those strategies. It is possible that other strategies exist, either beyond those found here, or within the strategies found here. Perhaps a more expansive study examining the work/family domains of a larger number of self-employed women would be able to tease out further detail in the strategies. Along with an increased sample size, future researchers could modify sample characteristics along a number of dimensions. In this study I examined only married women. Single self-employed mothers often approach their businesses differently than their married counterparts (Loscocco & Leicht 1993: 885). They may use different Adaptive WFB strategies as well, and future researchers can examine whether marital status impacts on strategy choice.

A larger study that incorporated a more detailed and longer quantitative questionnaire might provide an opportunity to compare the behaviours and attitudes expressed by self-employed women with other work/family data that is already available for employed workers. While this type of information would provide an interesting point of comparison, it would not have been appropriate for the present study (in terms of the sample size and methodology). Nonetheless there certainly are opportunities to use the strategies discovered here to compare self-employed women with women and men in other work arrangements in terms of adaptive WFB strategies.

Also, it is important to remember that this was a study of work and family, but the unit of analysis was individual women. It would also be possible to generate an even broader view of Adaptive WFB strategies by incorporating the views of children, husbands, and possibly co-workers into the study. This might make it possible to get a fuller appreciation for how domain borders are established and maintained, and whether others view those borders in the same way. Adding this broader perspective may identify how individuals negotiate their WFB strategies with significant members of their work and family domains, and whether individual strategies are in fact couple or family strategies. For example, while an impermeable border might facilitate balance for a self-employed mother, it may be seen as an impersonal and unnecessary division to other family members. This approach would involve changing the unit of analysis from the individual to the family, and likely would make the analysis more complex, but would clearly provide a much broader view of WFB strategies.

The analytical framework guiding this study indicated that individual, work, and family characteristics all impact on WFB, particularly in terms of access to time, control, and flexibility. Characteristics of individuals, work arrangements, and family composition also impact on choice of Adaptive WFB strategy. Analysis of the characteristics of the women adopting different WFB strategies revealed a number of patterns within these relationships. The Adaptive WFB strategies that I described throughout the analysis emerged out of the data, and I did not anticipate their existence prior to entering the field. Because I did not anticipate the strategies, I could not incorporate specific predisposing characteristics of individuals, work, and family into the questionnaire and interview schedule. In combination this means that although the strategies clearly exist, there will be room in future research to explore for additional differences between the women adopting the different strategies. In general terms, future researchers may seek to uncover answers to three broad questions: What individual characteristics impact on choice of Adaptive

WFB Strategy? What family characteristics impact on choice of Adaptive WFB Strategy? And what work characteristics impact on choice of Adaptive WFB Strategy? The current study provided some answers to these questions.

In terms of individual characteristics, level of education and work- or family-orientation impacted on choice of WFB strategy, in a number of ways. First, women using the Work-Based and Personal Preference Segmentation strategies had higher levels of post-secondary education than the women using both of the Child-Based strategies. Education is one measure of human capital. Future researchers using additional measures can explore the link between human capital and the various strategies. Second, the women differed in terms of the primary orientations to either work or family domains. Women using the Child-Based Integrative and Segmentation strategies appeared to exhibit a strong orientation toward their family domain throughout their life courses. The primary behaviours that I used as evidence of a family orientation was extended time spent as a stay-at-home mom. Conversely, women using the Work-Based and Personal Preference strategies appeared to exhibit a strong orientation toward the work domain throughout their life course, as indicated by their limited interruptions to the work trajectory for family reasons (such as maternity leaves or periods as stay-at-home moms). I did not incorporate precise measures of work- and family- orientations into the questionnaire or interview schedule. The use of extended maternity leaves is arguably a crude measure of domain orientation. I supplemented this with participants' statements regarding how they made work and family decisions. Most of the women who I categorized as Child-Based exhibited both extended maternity breaks and family-based motivations for current WFB decisions. Absence of extended maternity breaks coexisted with work or personal motivations for work and family decisions among those women that I described as being primarily oriented toward the work domain. Future researchers can incorporate more sensitive measures of work- or family- orientation into their analysis to probe for a more detailed understanding of how value orientations impact on strategy choices.

There were a number of patterns relating characteristics of the work domain to particular Adaptive WFB strategies. In particular, income, tenure, hours of work, and perceived control within the work domain were related to specific strategies. In terms of income, women using the Child-Based Segmentation strategy had the highest combined average levels of personal and family income. The women using the Child-Based Integration strategy had the lowest average level of personal and family income. This pattern suggests that among women who are primarily motivated

to meet family demands, there may be an economic penalty for integrating paid work with childcare. This observation must be tempered by knowledge of low income levels throughout the childcare industry, however, because both Child-Based Integrators were child-care providers. It is possible that occupation had a larger impact on income than did WFB strategy. A number of the women who currently use Child-Based motivations to segment work and family previously adopted an Integrative strategy. I have no information regarding whether their income levels changed over time along with changes in strategy. Exploring this relationship will contribute to our current understanding of the economic trade-offs for adopting a family orientation toward WFB.

The analysis also revealed a relationship between business tenure and WFB strategy. In particular, among the women who segmented work and family, the Work-Based Segmenters had the shortest business tenure. A number of the women using the Work-Based Segmentation strategy stated that they hoped to gain more control over their work schedules in the future. There is evidence among the Child-Based and Personal Preference Segmenters that they adopted Work-Based schedules in the past. Together these patterns suggest an evolution from responding to client demands to accommodating family and individual preferences into self-employment over time. There is room in future research to examine the nature and characteristics of transitions between divergent WFB strategies.

There were also patterns in terms of the number of hours spent in work and family domains. The Child-Based Segmenters matched their working hours to their children's school schedules and worked the shortest average work hours. Their higher average personal and family income may have contributed to this pattern. Future researchers can explore the relationship between income, hours and Adaptive WFB Strategy in more detail.

Finally, the analysis revealed distinct patterns in the relationship beween perceived control and Adaptive WFB strategy. Perceived control within the work domain was lowest among the Work-Based Segmenters. These women shared similar structural work arrangements with women using other strategies in terms of work location, industry and client type. They differed in terms of business tenure and there is some evidence that women using other strategies adopted the Work-Based strategy earlier in their work trajectories. Following a group of self-employed mothers over time in a longitudinal study likely would provide a clearer understanding about how control within the work domain changes over time and how this impacts on choice of Adaptive WFB strategy. It is possible that women who are primarily oriented towards the family domain may move from a

Work-Based to Child-Based strategy, and that those who are primarily oriented towards the work domain may move from a Work-Based to Personal Preference strategy as they gain more control within their work environment, for example.

In addition to work and individual characteristics, family variables also impacted on WFB strategies. Most of the women in this study entered self-employment after making the transition into motherhood within the family trajectories, and indicated that they entered self-employment in order to be available to their children when they were working. Not all of the women entered self-employment for family reasons, however, and the women who became self-employed either before or shortly after their transition into motherhood were more likely to express non-family entry motivations. This pattern suggests that there is likely a relationship between entry motivations, life cycle stage, and Adaptive WFB strategies that future researchers can explore in more detail.

In summary, this study identified a number of distinct Adaptive WFB strategies, and uncovered interesting relationships between each strategy and the individual, work, and family characteristics of study participants. There is ample room to explore and substantiate these relationships in future research projects.

Policy and Practical Implications

In addition to identifying a number of opportunities for future research, this research project also suggests a number of implications for government policy, as well as for organizations attempting to facilitate WFB among employees. While it appears that self-employment is an individual solution to the difficulty of balancing work and family demands, governments and employers can also facilitate this process through cleverly designed work-family policies. When I asked my respondents to discuss what they felt they needed to help them to balance their work and family demands, most responded in terms of time, flexibility, and control. Very few women identified any role for government policies or programs. Even though I did not discuss government policy directly with study participants, this study nonetheless raises important policy issues. Themes of time, flexibility, and control are already prominent within the work-family literature, and many employers realize the importance that workers place on these features of the work environment. Policies designed to offer flexibility in the scheduling and location of work and to incorporate self-management within the work process seek to address these components of the WFB equation. While these types of programs exist, employers that are serious about facilitating

WFB must be much more proactive in providing broader and more uniform access to these benefits. Their biggest challenge will be in providing employees with access to a level of control over work that is equal to that described by the women in this study.

In terms of government policy, there are ample opportunities for governments to assist self-employed workers as they negotiate their way through work and family domains over the life course. A sound starting point would be ensuring that these workers have equitable access to those programs and policies that are already available to employed workers. Clearly access to employment insurance benefits, parental leave benefits, federally funded child-care programs, and health care insurance would go a long way toward helping these individuals manage their work and family demands. In terms of parental leave benefits, it is important to note that self-employed mothers return to work much earlier than employed women with maternity benefits (Marshall, 1999). A number of women in the study who had children when they were already self-employed described returning to work much earlier than the one-year maternity leave currently mandated by federal government policy. Whether or not self-employed women would use maternity leave benefits is open to question. When explaining her return to work two months after her son was born, Chris explained that she had to remain accessible to her clients so that she would not lose their business. While a loss of income might lead some self-employed women to return to work early after childbirth, their decision must be considered within the broader context of their desires to maintain viable businesses. Also important to keep in mind is that self-employed women are not the only individuals who have inadequate access to long-term maternity leaves, as students and recent parents (who have had another child within the preceding year) are also ineligible for this program, so other groups of parents can benefit from more universal access to this program.

Adequate access to affordable, high quality childcare would benefit a substantial portion of working parents, including self-employed women. A number of the women in this study created WFB strategies that did not require any form of external childcare, often because they felt that this was an unsatisfactory option. Among these women was Samantha who expressed a common sentiment when she stated "I didn't have children so that other people could raise them." Whether these women developed this view of external childcare through general socialization or because of personal, negative experiences, many women in the study avoided childcare altogether. Perhaps a long history of inadequate access to quality childcare has contributed to the perception that leaving children in external care is not a viable option. It is possible that if childcare programs

became more accessible and affordable that over time it would become a more acceptable option for more parents. For those women who already believe that it is a viable option greater access and affordability would go a long way toward improving WFB, regardless of work arrangement. For those women who value providing primary care for their own children while simultaneously operating small businesses, improved childcare funding, quality, and access may or may not facilitate WFB.

The social safety net goes well beyond programs and policies specifically aimed at facilitating WFB. Access to employment insurance to cover lean periods in the business cycle, and access to affordable health care coverage would also benefit self-employed workers and their families. While these types of insurance policies are available for self-employed workers to purchase privately, associated costs combined with the "relatively poor wages and insecure work" that affect a large component of self-employed workers make these policies financially inaccessible or unrealistic (Hughes, 1999: 28). There is clearly room for the government to create unique policy initiatives tailored to the specific needs of self-employed workers. While some self-employed workers may not use extended parental leave benefits, they may wish to have improved access to health care coverage. Others may have access to health care through an employed spouse, but need access to affordable daycare. Perhaps a cafeteria-style approach to these benefits, modelled after the similar programs used in private businesses may be able to address the complex policy needs of self-employed workers.

Concluding Discussion

While shedding light on a number of salient themes within the work and family literatures, this research project has also raised a number of important conceptual questions, particularly in terms of the relationships between control, autonomy, structure, and agency. The relationship between having children in school full-time, and utilizing a Child-Based Segmentation strategy alludes to the impact of external constraints on control and flexibility within self-employment. If the Child-Based Segmenters felt that they set their own schedules based on their children's schedules, and their children's schedules were set by school boards, then did these women truly have control over their schedules? It would be possible to argue that school hours had a significant impact on the scheduling strategies adopted by this group. It is important to keep in mind, however, that a

number of the women in this group also scheduled their work hours around their children before the children entered school, often by working when the children were sleeping or in the care of their spouses. Certainly having children occupied by school activities freed women in this group to engage in self-employment during school hours, but those hours are not the only scheduling determinant – in a number of cases the women made active decisions to set their schedules around their children before their children had linear schedules.

Carr's research found that being married and having young children were the strongest predictors of women's entry into self-employment (1996: 37). This relationship between family characteristics and self-employment suggests that women are trying to find alternatives to standardized work forms that are incompatible with work and family balance. Entry into self-employment, in response to structural barriers within traditional, post-industrial work arrangements may further entrench the gendered division within the household, just as other alternative work arrangements have done. Binstock & George (1996: 173) identified this pattern in divisions in the labour market on a broader level, when they concluded that "occupational segregation by gender and earning discrepancies between men and women workers are both *outcomes* of past policies and practices and *perpetuators* of distinctively gendered life course pathways into old age." Like the overrepresentation of women in part-time work, the increased entry of women into self-employment in search of flexibility both acknowledges that women need flexibility to balance work and family, and perpetuates their responsibility for children and family, because being self-employed facilitates that responsibility. This pattern exemplifies Giddens' view of structuration, in which social structures (the organizing properties of social systems) are constituted in action. Structures are contained in action, so that the routine behaviours of daily social life take on a reality of their own, and become constraining structures, reproduced every time they are repeated. The flexibility of self-employment allows women to be more available to their children during work hours, alleviating pressure on their husbands to step in when the mother is not available. In this way flexibility increases the demands on self-employed women to be available to their children during productive working hours.

Regardless of whether self-employment retrenches gendered divisions of labour in the household in terms of child care, the fact remains that someone has to care for children, and formalized highly structured work arrangements simply do not mix well with primary childcare provision. Given the alternatives then, self-employment does appear to be a step in the right

direction, by at least facilitating balance through scheduling flexibility. Perhaps self-employment as a work form serves its own innovative, entrepreneurial function by affording women a new means of mediating between the inflexible formal organization of work and the fluctuating task-oriented demands of motherhood.

Within a social context that makes work/family combination exceptionally difficult, yet seem impervious to the changing demands of working families, the women in this study were exceptionally active in trying to make their own circumstances better. Essentially they did this by establishing borders between their work and family domains, ascribing them with various levels of flexibility and permeability, then adjusting them in response to work and family demands over time. Individual preferences for border placement, maintenance, permeability, and flexibility varied across the sample, but nonetheless showed clear clustering into a number of relatively distinct patterns.

Most of the women in the sample preferred to separate work and childcare, although some did try integration for limited periods of time. Some preferred to establish borders that were very flexible and permeable, able to accommodate intrusions from other domains with very little disruption. Others preferred to establish very strong borders, and to keep their work and family domains as separate as possible. What remains clear about strategy choices, is that they were often completely unrelated to the structural features of the self-employment. Women operating in very similar structural arrangements - employers, in retail, with established storefront hours or own-account, in other services, working exclusively at home - often utilized very different approaches to structuring their work and family time. This is where the element of individual choice becomes most apparent. Regardless of work structure, the self-employed women in this study essentially chose how they would structure the border between their work and family domains.

The decisions that these women made regarding how to combine their work and family domains represent the strategies that they used to balance work and family demands. Although the analysis of proactive coping strategies is rare within the WFB literature, the idea that families adapt to constraining social structures has a substantial history within the life course theoretical perspective. Moen & Yan (2000: 295) argue that "families have always devised various strategies to deal with the inevitable exigencies that occur in life. During times of major social upheaval, when old rules and routines no longer apply, individual households may adopt various lines of adaptation." Clearly the massive changes in labour force participation and composition in Canada

over the last 25 years point to a major social upheaval in terms of meeting work and family demands. The breadwinner/homemaker model assumes that one adult family member (usually male) will earn sufficient income to support a family, while the homemaker carries out all of the work required in the home. This model no longer applies to the majority of working Canadians.

Unfortunately social structures including the social organization of work, education, medical services, and most community activities continue to operate under the assumption that that families have a fulltime female homemaker (Moen & Yu, 2000: 292). School hours are a clear example of this. School hours start and end before standard business operating hours, and shut down completely for two months each year. Even if the majority of workers worked in standard business operating hours (a factor eroded in recent years by the increase in 'non-standard' work arrangements), then the majority of working parents would not be available to supervise their children immediately after school. In fact, recent Canadian data suggests that it is parents of middle-school children (old enough to be in school full time, but too young to be left alone unsupervised) who experience the highest level of interference from work to family (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001: ix).

Essentially working parents are trying to manage work and family demands within a set of social structural arrangements that assume that only one of them is working full time outside of the family home. Individual workers have been handed the responsibility of balancing their irreconcilable demands, making work and family integration a private concern, and effectively shifting the burden of responsibility away from employers and policy makers (Moen & Yu, 2000: 293). The gendered nature of non-standard work arrangements suggests that women are shouldering the major responsibility for negotiating a compromise between paid work and childcare.

Strategies that "work," in terms of allowing self-employed women to use the flexibility inherent in their work arrangements do facilitate work and family balance in that these women can respond to their children's demands during work hours. Unfortunately, they also "perpetuate gendered relations and inequalities at home and at work" by reinforcing women's primary responsibility for the home domain, and making it easier for their husband's, employers, and society to continue in their current home/work arrangements assuming that "everything will be just fine" (Moen & Yu, 2000: 311). And it will be fine of course, because regardless of whether or not work arrangements ever become flexible enough to allow all workers to balance their work and

family demands, mothers will always find a way to be flexible enough to accommodate the needs of their children.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

1. Outline work history, including experience prior to becoming self-employed
   - -when did SE start?
   - -other SE experience
   - -timing of marriage
   - -birth of children
2. Did your work have any influence on the timing of your children?
3. Did your family circumstances have any impact on your decision to become self-employed?
4. Did you have any expectations regarding how you would combine work and family prior to entering self-employment? Could you describe your expectations?

In what ways has self-employment met your expectations?

How has it failed to meet your expectations?

5. Can you describe your current work circumstances:

   Typical day:

   Number and type of clients:

6. How does self-employment compare with your previous experience as an employee when it comes to combining work and family?
7. Do you see there being any advantages to self-employment:

When it comes to getting your household work done?

When it comes to taking care of your children?

In getting personal time for yourself?

8. Are there any disadvantages?
9. How do you and your spouse divide responsibilities regarding taking care of your children? Is this a fair division?
10. Other than your spouse, do you have any other assistance with housework and children?
11. Do your patterns of meeting work and family responsibilities change:
    a. Cycles of work
    b. Cycles of partners work
    c. School year

d. Children's schedule

12. Do you feel that you have control over your day-to-day work? If so, how do you use that control?

13. Do you find that your daily work is very demanding? Do you have access to the support you need to meet the demands of your work? If not, what kind of support do you need to meet these demands?

14. What does work/family balance mean to you? What is it? What do you need in order to obtain it? Do you feel that you have it?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

Self-Employment and Family Project

The following questions ask for some basic details about yourself and your business. This information will be used for summary purposes only and will be kept strictly confidential.

About Yourself:

1. **Year of birth** _____ 2. **Country of birth** _____

3. **Highest level of education** (please check one)

Grade nine or lower	_____	College diploma	_____
Grades 10-12 non-graduate	_____	University degree (Bachelor)	_____
High School graduate	_____	University degree (Master)	_____
Some post-secondary	_____	University degree (PhD)	_____
Trade certificate or diploma	_____		

4. **Marital Status** (please check one)

Single ___ Married/Cohabiting ___ Separated/Divorced ___ Widowed __

5. **Partner's work status** (please check one):

Employee _____ Retired_____ Stay-at-home father_____

Self-Employed _____ Unemployed_____

Other (please specify) _____

6. **How many children do you have?** _____

7. **How old is each child (in years)?**

Child 1_____	Child 3_____	Child 5_____	Child 7_____
Child 2_____	Child 4_____	Child 6_____	Child 8_____

About your Current Business:

8. **How long have you been self-employed in your current business?** _____ years

9. **Approximately how many hours do you work in your business each week?** _____ hours

10. **What is your most usual location of work?**

At home ____ At my business location____ A combination of these ____

Other (please specify) _____

_____

11. **Could you indicate your approximate before-tax income for last year** (please put a check in the most appropriate categories):

Amount in $	Your own income	Total Family income	Amount in $	Your own income	Total Family Income
1- 4,999			50,000 – 59,999		
5,000 – 9,999			60,000 – 69,999		
10,000 – 14,999			70,000 – 79,999		
15,000 – 19,999			80,000 – 89,999		
20,000 – 24,999			90,000 – 99,999		
25,000 – 29,999			100,000 – 124,999		
30,000 – 39,999			125,000 – 149,999		
40,000 – 49,999			150,000 and over		

Child care arrangements

12. **Do any of your children require child care while you are at work?***(check)*

*YES*_____ *NO* _____

***If you answered NO**, please skip the next question*

13. **Please circle the responses that describe how your children are looked after on a regular basis while you are working** *(circle all that apply)*

A. Children cared for by a family member

B. Children cared for by a non-family member

C. Children cared for in your own home

D. Children cared for in someone else's home

E. Children cared for in a day care or nursery school

F. Other (please specify) _____

-End of Questions-

Appendix 3: Summary of Survey Data

Full explanations of column titles and codes follow this table

Table 14: Summary of Survey Data

Name	Age	Educ	Partner work	Tenure	AvHrs	OwnInc	FamInc	OldestCH	Youngest CH
CHILD-BASED INTEGRATION									
Lisa	30	2	1	1	50	3	3	9	3
Samantha	36	5	1	2	30	1	7	8	4
Averages	*33*	*3.5*		*1.5*	*40.0*	*2.0*	*5.0*	*8.5*	*3.5*
CHILD-BASED SEGMENTATION									
Nina	33	3	2	6	25	7	16	10	5
Rose	55	4	2	6	20	2	xxx	26	18
Shelley	49	4	1	1.5	25	6	15	16	12
Kristin	38	7	1	3	xxx	9	16	10	7
Glennis	38	4	1	7	10	4	13	13	11
Anna	50	11	1	9	25	13	16	17	21
Chloe	45	6	2	10	35	12	16	13	11
Averages	*44*	*5.6*		*6.1*	*23.3*	*7.6*	*15.3*	*15.0*	*12.1*
WORK-BASED SEGMENTATION									
Jacquie	33	5	1	1.5	20	4	11	5	0.5
Sandy	40	7	1	7	28	5	11	4	NA
Paulette	28	5	1	1.5	55	5	xxx	8	NA
Stacey	35	4	1	1.5	60	5	10	5	2
Rachel	46	8	1	2	55	xxx	xxx	10	NA
Luanne	38	7	2	5	40	8	13	15	12
Mary	45	7	1	8	10	2	8	23	0.5
Sue	42	7	2	9	15	2	10	14	12
Averages	*38.4*	*6.3*		*4.4*	*32.3*	*5.4*	*10.5*	*10.5*	*5.4*
PERSONAL PREFERENCE SEGMENTATION									
Dorothy	33	7	1	5	50	xxx	14	2	NA
Cindy	32	5	1	5	45	xxx	xxx	8	6
Chris	32	4	1	3	40	4	12	2.5	0.5
Marianne	30	4	2	6	65	2	16	7	1
Theresa	37	10	2	10	40	13	16	8	3
Averages	*32*	*6.1*		*5.7*	*40.7*	*5.4*	*12.7*	*4.5*	*2.6*
COMBINATION STRATEGIES									
Clare	29	8	6	1	20	3	7	3	NA
Margie	31	5	1	10	25	5	11	1	NA

Table 15: Explanations of Column Titles from Summary of Survey Data

Column Title	Full term/explanation	Values
Age	Age	Age in years
Educ	Highest level of education obtained	See table below
Partner Work	Partner's Work Status	See table below
Tenure	Number of years since start of business	In years
OwnInc	Personal Income, generated from business	See table below
FamInc	Total Family Income	See table below
Oldest CH	Age of oldest child at start of business	Age in years
Youngest CH	Age of youngest child at start of business	In years

Table 16: Education Codes

Education Codes	
1	Less than grade 9
2	Grades 10 to 12
3	Graduated High School
4	Some post-secondary
5	Trade Certificate
6	College diploma
7	Bachelor's Degree
8	Master's Degree
9	Doctoral Degree

Table 17: Partner's Work Status Codes

Partner's Work Status (Includes only codes used in table)	
1	Employee
2	Self-employed
6	Other

Table 18: Income Codes

Own Income and Family Income					
Income in $	Code	Income in $	Code	Income in $	Code
1- 4,999	1	30,000 – 39,999	7	90,000 – 99,999	13
5,000 – 9,999	2	40,000 – 49,999	8	100,000 – 124,999	14
10,000 – 14,999	3	50,000 – 59,999	9	125,000 – 149,999	15
15,000 – 19,999	4	60,000 – 69,999	10	150,000 and over	16
20,000 – 24,999	5	70,000 – 79,999	11		
25,000 – 29,999	6	80,000 – 89,999	12		